# REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW . VOLUME XCV . NUMBER THREE

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## Published by The REVIEW OF REVIEWS Corporation

#### 233 Fourth Ave., New York

From the Trade

In the Editor's Mail

ALBERT SHAW, Chairman of the Board; ALBERT SHAW Jr., President; HOWARD FLORANCE, Vice-President; ROGER SHAW, Secretary; HARRY PRICE, Advertising Manager. TERMS:—25c a number, \$3.00 a year, two years \$4.50. The REVIEW OF REVIEWS is on file in public libraries everywhere and is indexed in the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature. Title Registered U. S. Patent Office. Entered as second-class matter April 27, 1934, at the post-office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3rd, 1879; additional entry as second-class matter at Dayton, Ohio. Printed in U. S. A. Copyright, 1936, Review of Reviews Corporation.

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DUART MacLEAN

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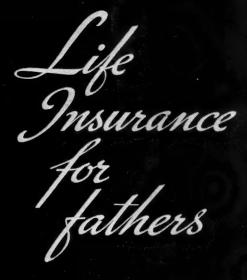
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DUART MacLEAN





Insurance Company of America

EDWARD D. DUFFIELD, President ©

Home Office, NEWARK, N. J.

# SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

#### A SILENT TROLLEY CAR

Back in 1929 a street-railway presidents' conference appointed a committee to determine what features should be incorporated in the street car to enable it to survive competition. Both General Electric and Westinghouse shared in solving the problem, contributing high-speed and light-weight motors, faster brakes, better lighting, and a ventilating system.

The new trolley, known as the PCC or Presidents' Conference Car, has made its appearance in Brooklyn, Baltimore, and Chicago, and is soon to be seen in Los Angeles, San Diego, Pittsburgh, and Boston.

A starting speed of 24 miles per hour is achieved in 5 seconds, 80 miles in 11 seconds. This is twice the acceleration of the conventional street car.

At 24 miles the car can be stopped in 70 feet. It has a service braking rate of 4½ to 4¾ miles per hour per second, and an emergency rate of 8 to 9 miles per hour per second. This is accomplished by three types of brake operated in sequence by pressure on the same foot pedal.

Both starting and stopping rates exceed those of the ordinary passenger automobile. The old hand lever is gone, for accelerating and braking are done with the foot; and since there is no steering the motorman's hands are free.

Perhaps the real achievement of PCC is its noiselessness, gained through the liberal use of rubber in trucks and wheels. The interior of a trolley car, like that of a bass drum, magnifies sound. Removing noise at its source is unbeatable strategy.

#### SOYBEANS IN FAVOR

On this page we like to stress the value to the farmer of chemical research for industry, exemplified by the soybean that now plays an important part in lacquer and plastics industries. Figures released last month by the Department of Agriculture show that the production of soybeans by American farmers almost doubled in each of the last two years for which returns are available. A yield of 13 million bushels in 1933 became 23 million in 1934 and 44 million in 1935.

#### CARBON MONOXIDE

Recent tests at Harvard's Fatigue Laboratory have revealed some of the dangerous properties of carbon monoxide gas, which is responsible for many deaths each year.

While it was shown that a man in an average state of health can stand exposure to the gas up to a point at which his blood is one-third saturated with it, it was also demonstrated that minute concentrations in the atmosphere may be dangerous.

One part of carbon monoxide to one thousand parts of air constitutes a dangerous mixture. A man at rest, or doing light work (such as driving a car) will succumb to such a mixture in about thirty minutes; much sooner, if he is exercising vigorously, or breathing heavily.

The chief danger from carbon monoxide lies in the difficulty of detecting it. Not only is it quite colstresses.

An alloy containing approximately twelve percent manganese has stood up well under tests at low temperatures; and has been found

and snow also undergo exceptional

stood up well under tests at low temperatures; and has been found to possess greater strength under extreme cold than in normal summer temperatures.

#### USES FOR GLASS

Glass has many qualities which make it a valuable raw material. It is one of a small number of substances which resist acids, fire, and decay. It is, according to the choice of the designer, either the least obtrusive of all materials, revealing whatever is placed behind it; or, specially treated, it can be given in-

herently beautiful coloring and surface, as opaque as

metal or stone.

Chief of its deficiencies for many purposes is its brittleness and rigidity; possessing great strength against compression, it is not well suited to torsional strain, or the shock of many industrial uses.

Glass of sufficiently small diameter, however, possesses a remarkable pliability. Glass fibre of approximately one-thousandth of an inch in cross section has been used for some time in heat and sound insulation;

in Germany, during the World War, as a substitute for asbestos.

As long ago as the Chicago World's Fair of the early nineties, a dress was woven from glass fibre, for the Princess Eulalie of Spain—at a cost of \$60,000. Although later improvements in the method of drawing out the fibres have greatly reduced the cost, it is not likely that fabric woven from glass will ever be suitable for wearing apparel. The material is still harsh and not well suited to direct contact with the human skin.

However, glass fabrics may be of importance in various industrial uses, as screens, filters, and so forth. Experimentation in producing finer fibres has already resulted in short lengths as small as one-twentieth of a human hair. Such strands would make possible a length of 5,000 miles from a pound of glass, enough to make a woven fabric of 2,100 square feet.



EWING GALLOWAY

Street railways hope that with this new "PCC" trolley they can survive competition

orless, odorless, and tasteless, but its first effects give little or no warning. This fact explains the relatively large numbers of people who have been killed by carbon monoxide fumes, while working about gasoline motors in confined spaces, such as small garages.

#### COLD STEEL

The increasingly hard uses to which metals are subjected in the industries and modern transportation have stimulated constant research into their properties, and possible improvement.

The effect of extremely low temperatures, such as are encountered in the northern part of Canada, has recently been found to require the development of special alloys. Ordinary steel rails have been found to be dangerously brittle at forty degrees below zero, sometimes snapping under routine usage. Shoes for tractors which are to be used on ice

Are YOU a Business Coward?

-and-does it show in your pay-check?

"You've had your chance!" It was the General Manager speaking.

"Two years ago I warned you that the only man who could hope to get ahead in this organization was the man with training.

"Merwin was only a bookkeeper then, you remember, but in his spare time he was studying Higher Accounting, I knew what he was doing, and I told you then to keep your eye on Merwin.

"He's had three raises since. He has more than doubled his salary—and he earns every dollar I pay him.

"Last week I recommended him for Assistant Treasurer, and the Board elected him without a dissenting vote. We're mighty glad to have him in the group.

"But you, Jarvis—I hate to say it—you're a business coward. You knew what you would have to do to get out of the small-pay class. You were simply afraid to face the kind of effort and responsibility that could get you a substantial salary.

"And now it's too late. We've got to watch our overhead, and you're one of about five men that we can get along without. We could replace the lot of you tomorrow.

"For your own sake, Jarvis, take a tip from a man who has been through the mill, and this time get busy and learn to do something better than the other fellow.

"Jarvis, there's no end of opportunity in business; but the only man who cashes in these days is the man with the courage to get special training. The offices of this country are simply cluttered up with business cowards. It's easy for the man who trains—because the business coward is through before he starts."

Are YOU one of several million routine men who have been drifting along in a "lowjob-always wishing for more money, never acting?

Are YOU a business coward?

Over 880,000 ambitious men have asked themselves this question during the past twenty-eight years—and replied with a ring-ing "NO!"

In the quiet of their own homes, without losing an hour from work, these men have mastered the principles of business by working out the actual problems of business-under the direction of some of the ablest business men in their respective fields in America. Their record of achievement, under the "LaSalle under the "LaSa Problem Method," one of the most thrillwith always the goal ahead of in-

ing chapters in the romance of business. During a single six months' period, for example, reports came in to LaSalle from more than 1100 men and women stating that through the application of this plan they had increased their salaries by an average of more

These men were able to progress more rapidly by means of the "LaSalle Problem Method" than they could have done in any other way, because in their training they faced continually the very problems they must later face on the bigger job. They learned by

Moreover, studying alone under the direct supervision of an expert instructor, they progressed as rapidly as their capacity allowedand that progress was further speeded by the fact that every day they could see themselves developing. This fact took all the hardship out of study-changed it into a fascinating game, creased opportunity and greater pay. Whatever attitude you may have taken in the past-and you may, indeed, have never realized that the difference between the man who "puts it off" and the man who "puts it over" is in the last analysis largely a matter of courage-resolve today to face the problem of your business future squarely.

Within reach of your hand is a LaSalle coupon—and a pencil. The coupon, checked and signed, will bring you without obligation a complete outline of the training you are interested in, a wealth of evidence as to what LaSalle training has done for hundreds of men in circumstances similar to yours, and full particulars of our convenient payment plan.

It costs you nothing to get the facts—except the exercise of business courage. Will you put it off?—or put it over? Mail the coupon NOW.

# LaSalle Extension University

Tell us which of the following programs of home-study training interests you most.

BusinessManagement:Managerial,Sales and Departmental Executive positions.

Higher Accountancy: Auditor, Comptroller, Certified Public Accountant, Cost Accountant, etc.

Modern Salesmanship: Training for all positions in retail, wholesale, or specialty

Law-LL, B. Degree. Commercial Law.

Personnel Management. Traffic Management: Training for posi-tion as Railroad or Industrial Traffic Man-ager, Rate Expert, Freight Solicitor, etc. Railway Station Management. Modern Foremanship. Expert Bookkeeping. C.P.A. Coaching for Advanced Accountants.

Modern Business Correspondence. Credit and Collection Correspondence

Business English. Stenography - Stenotypy: Training in the new up-to-date machine shorthand. Paper Salesman's Training.

Effective Speaking.

NOTE: If you are undecided as to the field which offers you the largest oppor-tunity, write us a brief outline of your business history and education, and we will gladly advise you without obligating you.

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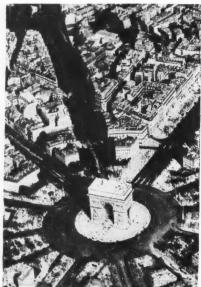
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Please send me your free book on the training indicated, and an out-ne of LaSalle plan—all entirely free.

Present Position\_\_\_\_\_

# EUROPE 1937



FRENCH GOVT. TOURIST BUREAU

# FRANCE

By HENRY D'ORNANO, Director French Government Tourist Bureau

WITH characteristic industry and finesse, the French nation has freshly swept and garnished the official hearthstone in welcome to the holiday-seeking world that will wend its way there to visit the Paris Exposition Internationale of Arts and Techniques from May to November.

The ancient and fascinating folklore of France will be an important part of the interested visitors' program through Folktourism, a new project of the Commissariat General au Tourisme. Special trips with reduced railway fares will facilitate the observance of famous "Pardons" and feast days in the provinces.

The Commissariat General au Tourisme, Roland Marcel, director, in coöperation with the Railways of France and the French Line, has provided every facility to insure a sojourn free from travel troubles.

From the time one's luggage is put ashore every porter, railway worker, hotel staff, even the shops, are under the watchful eye of the Government to see that the guest is well treated.

A Department of Claims and Adjustments has been added to the French Government Bureau of Tour-

Great Britain's coronation ceremonies in May serve as a magnet to start you on your way to Europe. Seldom does such an opportunity arise. It is a chance that should not be missed to see all the Old World you possibly can. Our Travel Department this month has been turned over to U.S. representatives of various countries, to tell what you will find on the Continent this year

ism, to end overcharging or discourtesy. Careful investigation is made of each complaint. Overcharges are refunded and the guilty person or organization is fined and warned against repetition. The first six months of this department brought out that 60% of all complaints were caused through lack of understanding of French customs.



INTOURIS

# R U S S I A By E. N. ILYINA, Adv. Mgr. Intourist, Inc.

THE Soviet Union's numerous health resorts are modernly equipped to serve the needs of its 175 million people. New hotels, sanitoria, balneological establishments and research institutions have been established to make available the unusual curative resources which Russia has long been known to possess.

This health project which constitutes a unique part of the Soviet life is necessarily a vast one—since the U.S.S.R. resembles the United States and Canada in the tremendous scope and variety of its climates.

Health resorts of the Soviet Union drew a total of 2,570,000 visitors in

1936—a number which attests the progress made in the Soviet program of improving spas already in existence, and establishing new ones. Today there are in active existence twenty-three health resorts of all-Union importance, such as Sochi, Matsesta, Gagri, and Kislovodski.

Among the most valuable inland sanatoria are the picturesque year-round resorts on the dry steppes beyond the Volga, in Bashkiria, Kirghizia, and Kazakhstan—where remarkable results are claimed for a cure peculiar to the U.S.S.R., "Koumiss" or fermented mare's milk, found to be scientifically sound for treating pulmonary patients.

Newest and most spectacular of the Black Sea resorts is Sochi at the foot of the Caucacus Mountains. Sochi is steadily growing in popularity, not only as a spa, with up-todate sanatoria and the famed "Matsesta" mud baths, but also as a beach resort and vacation pleasure-spot.



GERMAN RAILROADS INFORMATION OFFICE

# GERMANY

By HANS PORTACK German R. R. Information Bureau

GERMANY this summer will even top the Olympia year. "Festival Year of German Culture" is the official slogan for the large-scale arrangements that are being made in every part of the Reich.

To facilitate tourist travel in Germany, which has increased by leaps

and bounds since the depression low, the German Railroad Company again grants visitors from abroad, remaining in the country at least 7 days, a 60 percent railroad fare reduction. Glass trains for long distance sightseeing tours have been added.

Inexpensive excursions to and from every part of the Reich, magnificent motor speedways as links in an already excellent network of motor roads; modern or modernized hotels and inns charging moderate rates; a railroad travel information and hotel personnel that has been specially trained to help foreign visitors; and first of all the warm but unobtrusive hospitality of the population are features which make travel in Germany a real delight.

Emphasis must be placed on the "travel-mark", available for tourist expenditures within Germany at rates often more than 25 percent below Reichsmark quotations.

Dates for the program of Germany's "Festival Year of Culture" have been so arranged that before, after or during the coronation period the tourist will find every day and place of his itinerary filled with entertainment which he will enjoy.



HOLLAND

By G. H. RAVELLI, U. S. Rep. Netherland R. R.

VISITORS to the historic British Coronation ceremonies are offered an exceptional opportunity to recuperate from the bustle, inseparable from such functions, in the quiet, quaint and delightful tulip fields of the Netherlands.

Besides, there are, of course, such gems of antiquity and quaintness as Amsterdam with its 300 bridges, priceless museums and its "Night Watch"; Alkmaar with its Friday cheesemarket; Edam, perhaps the cleanest city on earth; Utrecht, with its sunken canals; The Hague, where the Queen resides and seat of

Carnegie's Peace Palace; Delft, with picturesque canal scenes, sublime serenity, and city where Holland's saviour, Prince Willem of Orange, was foully assassinated.

And don't forget Holland's lovely windmills, centuries old national costumes, canals that flow at a level higher than the roofs of some of the surrounding houses, and a peacefulness that acts as a medicine on those coming from hustling America.

Indeed, a whole week should be set aside for Holland, the land that has been referred to as Europe's open air museum, and for these visitors the Netherlands Railways issue 8-day season tickets good for unlimited travel for as little as \$8.25, a trifle over a dollar a day!



S W E D E N

By BIRGER NORDHOLM, Manager

By BIRGER NORDHOLM, Manager Swedish Travel Bureau

OLD in culture and history, yet young and modern in spirit is Sweden, Land of Sunlit Nights, which annually attracts an ever growing number of visitors from abroad. Easily reached by steamship or airplane, it is still off the beaten tourist path, and thereby has managed to preserve its charm and freshness.

Travel within Sweden is comfortable and delightful. Fast electric trains take the traveler all the way from the fertile fields and historic castles of Scania, in the South, to Stockholm, Sweden's gay and gallant capital, to the picturesque province of Dalecaria, or up to the snow-capped mountains of Lapland, far above the Polar Circle.

Good roads invite the automobilist to explore the smiling country side; and for those with time to spare the quaint and beautiful Göta Canal, now more than one hundred years old, is the ideal means by which to cross the country, from the teeming port city of Gothenburg, on the North Sea, to Stockholm, on the Baltic Sea.

In the summer the weather as a rule is balmy and the skies are clear. All manner of outdoor exercises and sports may be indulged in, such as yachting, swimming, tennis, golf, horseback riding, and fishing. Both the east and the west coast are dotted with seaside resorts and fishing hamlets, from the smartest and most up-to-date to the humblest and least pretentious.

Cleanliness is everywhere apparent, as in the friendly and courteous spirit of the people. Nor is the material side of life neglected, for Swedish food is world-famous. Whether eaten at one of Stockholm's celebrated restaurants, or in the rustic smugness of a cosy country inn, it never varies in quality.

Peace and orderliness reign unchallenged in this country, which has not known a war for over a hundred and twenty years—another reason why Sweden is a haven for discriminate tourists.



OBLUT

# BELGIUM

By J. B. FRONTENAC Belgian National Railways

BELGIUM, with an area of less than 12,000 square miles (slightly smaller than the state of Maryland), is one of the most fascinating countries of the Old World, making up in interest for what it lacks in size.

Belgium is a treasure house of history—the medieval glory of old Flanders, Napoleon's tragic defeat—and a gallery of true native art with displays of masterpieces by Rubens,

Van Eyck, Breugel and others. It possesses an unrivalled array of medieval architectural gems, Ro-

manesque and Gothic.

The Walloon and Flemish people have always been very proud of their quaint customs, their folklore and pageants, spectacular processions and gay carnivals. Mons has its "Doudou",—Binche, its fanciful "Mascarade",—Brussels, its "Omegangs". Tournai has its famous religious procession, commemorating the disastrous plague of 1092,—Bruges, the sacred Procession of the Holy Blood,—Furnes, the Procession of the Penitents, in which the faithful, barefooted, carry massive crosses.

Let us roam through Brussels, a truly modern and swagger capital, the very pulse of the nation, and Bruges, "Venice of the North", an enchanting medieval town with curious gabled houses, delicate buildings, narrow streets and canals.

From picturesque Ghent, let us wander on to busy Antwerp, a teeming port, where the lover of art can enjoy at his leisure works of the Flemish masters. Follow the enchanting Meuse to Leige, Huy or Namur, and visit Lierre, Malines, Louvain or Ypres, tragic reminder of the War. Enjoy a refreshing swim at Ostend, or take the cure at celebrated Spa.



POLAND

By JOSEPH ELLNER Gdynia-America Line

AIR LINES, hotels, railways and tourist information bureaus throughout Poland are expecting the biggest travel season this summer since the nation's rebirth.

Principal cause seems to be the

fact that globetrotters in the past few years have been discovering in Poland a "new old country" offering a feast of fresh experiences.

Important events during the summer include the pilgrimage to Czestochowa which attracts 300,000 people each year; the Dozynki pageant, when farmers from all parts of the country bring gifts from the field to the President's palace; the unique Easter Fair at Lwow; the International Gordon Bennett Balloon Meet; and the Mountain Festival at Zakopane, in the Carpathians.

But the most fascinating of lures in Poland is the human element—the unspoiled country folk. Chiefly an agricultural country, Poland's peasantry, living under widely varying geographical and climatic conditions, is among the most interesting to be

encountered anywhere.

By far the greater majority of the thousands of American tourists who visited Poland last year traveled by Poland's new motorliners, *Pilsudski* and *Batory*, because an eight-day voyage on a Polish ship offered a fitting introduction to the country, its language, food and customs.



FINNISH TRAVEL BUREA

# F I N L A N D

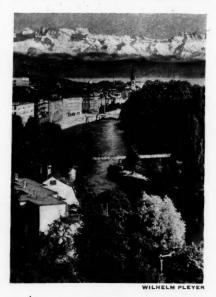
By JOHN H. WUORINEN, Director Finnish Travel Bureau

WHAT does Finland offer the foreign visitor?

In the first place, its modern cities, the outstanding among them being Helsinki, the capital. In this city of some 285,000 souls one finds fascinating examples of architecture, both modern and of earlier periods, ranging all the way from stately Parliament Building to scores of coöperatively built apartment houses; an interesting outdoor museum; charming cafes, parks, beaches; and a never ending stream of steamers and sail boats large and small, which lend color and tone to the "White City of the North".

The country as a whole offers a bewildering variety of scenery. The unique lake region of central and east central Finland, which covers thousands of square miles, presents unusual opportunities for travel by fine inland steamers, canoeing, fishing, camping and the like. And—to mention only one additional attraction—there is the Lapland region, a far-away corner of the world which can be reached by rail and bus in an easy and comfortable manner.

A trip to Finland spells friendly reception at the hands of a hospitable people, comfortable travel and living.



SWITZERLAND

By MARIE WIDMER Swiss Federal Railroads

THROUGH the recent devaluation of the Swiss franc, Switzerland is now one of the cheapest tourist countries in the world. There are no money formalities. Low priced railroad tickets may be had in attractive combinations, and hotels and pensions give maximum values for prevailing low rates.

Foreign automobilists touring Switzerland in private cars for at least three days enjoy a 30 percent reduction on regular gasoline prices—up to 300 litres. Visitors staying only a short time can avail themselves of "Provisional Permits" for 10, 20 or 40 days, for the modest fee of two, four or six Swiss francs.

Switzerland is easily and quickly reached from everywhere. This beauteous Alpine country is served by some sixteen international air lines, and aerial sightseeing tours may be indulged in at low cost.

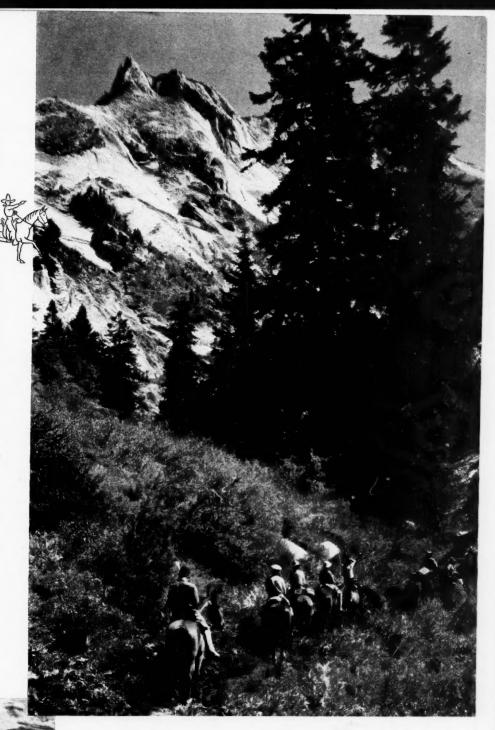
In Switzerland one travels almost exclusively in the swift and smooth electric manner; and ever so many famous mountains are easily ne-

# may not be your idea of a Vacation..

The tangy air of snow-capped heights...the scent of sage and balsam ... the tug of a hungry trout ... these things, to some, spell a perfect vacation. Others prefer a tingling plunge into the foaming surf, the lift of a wave and snap of a sail, the racing speed of a surf-board's glide, or lazy relaxation on the sand.

Fortunately, Nature has blessed Southern California with both mountains and seashore. And if neither fills all your vacation requirements, Los Angeles County and its neighbors offer you many other things this summer: Sportsgolf, tennis, polo, riding, hunting, auto races-your favorite, whatever it may be, in new invigorating settings. Rainless summer days and balmy all-year climate. Fascinating industries—citrus, oil, movie-mak-ing. Daytime and evening thrills in celebrity-filled Hollywood. Palms and orange groves, and ancient Spanish Missions. World-known resort cities like Los Angeles, Pasadena, Long Beach, Glendale, Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, Pomona.

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The Company has set aside from its 1936 Gains in Operations \$25,024,520 for Dividends to Policyholders in 1937 and its Fund for Depreciation of Securities and General Contingencies stood on December 31, 1936 at \$61,520,866 as compared with \$55,769,831 in 1935.

### BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1936

#### LIABILITIES AND RESERVES 4.28 \$ 55,989,728.76 Policy Reserves . . . . . . . . \$1,131,251,577.00 United States Government bonds 20.46 267,668,754.96 Supplementary Contract Reserves 65,970,402.11 State, County and Municipal bonds 4.33 56,714,710.28 Other Policy Liabilities . . . . 13,719,192.19 Canadian Government, Provin-Premiums, Interest and Rents paid 9,402,107,40 cial and Municipal bonds . Other Foreign Government bonds 1,057,897.22 in advance . . . . . . . . . . . . 4,242,936.91 Railroad, Public Utility and In-Miscellaneous Liabilities . . . . 4.136,221,51 dustrial bonds . . . . . . . . 31.92 417,596,990.24 Reserve for Taxes . . . . . . 2.314.665.31 Preferred and Guaranteed stocks 1.70 22,190,775.00 Mortgage Loans (at cost) . . . 17.20 224,990,118.64 Set aside for Dividends in 1937. 25,024,520.28 55,501,453.75 Real Estate (at cost or less). . . 4.24 Reserve for Future Deferred . . . . . 12.74 166,624,777.05 Policy Loans . . . . Dividends . . . . . . . . . 98,437.51 Premiums in course of Collection and Reinsurance due from other Fund for Depreciation of Securi-1.17 15,297,971,40 ties and General Contingencies 61,520,866.43 Interest and Rents due and accrued 1.16 15,243,534.55 Total Admitted Assets . . \$1,308,278,819,25

Bonds subject to amortization under Section 18 of the New York Insurance Laws were taken at their amortized, i.e. their book values. Non-amortized bonds and preferred stocks were taken at market values at December 31, 1936, published under the auspices of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners.

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DAVID F. HOUSTON President 34 Nassau Street, New York

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FEBRUARY 1, 184

gotiated by rack-and-pinion, cable and aerial railways. Over Alpine highways and off the beaten path travel the comfortable motor coaches of the Federal Postal Department, a sightseeing service de luxe.

The little land of the Alps is a paradise, where scenery, invigorating climate and health springs combine to refresh and rejuvenate human bodies and minds.



ITALIAN TOURIST INFORMATION OFFICE

# ITALY

By G. PANTALEONI, Gen. Mgr. Italian Tourist Inform. Office

WHEN spring—with her basket of early fruits, and a flower in her hair—decides once more to keep her tryst with Europe...she steps lightly from Sicily to the toe of the great "boot"—and Italy becomes the first to waken, and bid her welcome!

As the countryside of her northern neighbors begins to brush the cobwebs of its long sleep away, Italy's visitors are already motoring through stretches of orange and olive groves—sharing the warm sun with early blossoming trees and flowers—exchanging smiles and "buon giorno" with peasants they pass on the winding roads.

Travelers speed on ahead in their high-powered cars—on, perhaps, to Naples where Vesuvius dominates the Bay...a glowering, still majestic old warrior who continues to mutter to himself about past conquests—like a heroic figure from the Twilight of the Gods. From Naples, they visit Pompeii where ruins and excavations give awesome testimony to glory that vanished beneath the volcano's wrath.

Then to Capri—an enchanted isle where laughter and romance are vibrantly alive—and honey-mooners and beauty-lovers, alike, take the little boats to explore the incredible Blue Grotto.

Thence to Sorrento—another gay charmer—with delicately carved cameos and other native wares to be had for a few lire. A memorable drive to Amalfi—following the rock-bound serpentine road that writhes in and out among weather-beaten crags overhanging the sea. Finally a stop for refreshment at the Capuccini Convent—and at the top, the famous cloister and a magnificent view of the sea and cliffs below!

Rome, splendid in its present as in its past, is, of course, a focal point for travel in Italy.

## **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

By DR. R. L. STUERM, Director Czechoslovak State Railways

THE CHARM of Czechoslovakia lies in an unusual combination of her colorful country-side with the architectural beauty of her historical cities, apart from the interest which her political and economical development must stir in every traveler.

Its capital, Praha (Prague), is a city of contrasts. Its old Gothic and Baroque churches, palaces with charming terraced gardens, monasteries, demure towers, and graceful bridges of Middle Ages, intrigue the visitor by association with great historical past. On the other hand, there is its modern tempo of life and the hard-working and yet so cheerful people who impress the visitor by their understanding of art of living and enjoyment of every form of culture.

Many visitors head for Czechoslovakia's internationally famous resorts. Carlsbad, Marienbad, Franzensbad, Pistany, and the radium spa of Jachymov in Western Bohemia take care between them of practically every intestinal and metabolical trouble one's body can raise.

Sportsmen find in Czechoslovakia excellent golf courses and tennis courts; they can swim there, fish, canoe, or follow the trail of big game in her Eastern part. The tourist finds his road smoothed by direct rail and flying connections from all points of Europe.

The newly devalued crown makes his stay less expensive than ever. And he carries away memories of a people most courteous and hospitable.

# AUSTRIA

By RUDOLF MATTESICH, Director Austrian State Travel Bureau

VIENNA, the Danube, Salzburg, the celebrated trilogy of Austrian music festivals will be more brilliant and popular than ever this season, judging from programs and advance bookings. The Vienna Festival in the first half of June offers the ideal solution for an after-coronation destination in Middle Europe.



FOR PEOPLE WITH

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# GREAT NORTHERN

118 WEST 57th STREET

It takes place, of course, when the great Danube capital is at the height of its glamorous social season, when the Vienna opera offers its most splendid repertory, when spring flowers along the Ringstrasse and all Europe parades thereon. This season many additional balls and masques will commemorate the seventieth birthday of Strauss's romantic "Blue Danube Waltz".

July 16th to 20th at Linz will be devoted to the performances of the Danube Festival, now in its third successful year. This year Ormandy will conduct the Vienna Orchestra at Linz. A great peasant fete will be given in connection with the Festival. Fourteen Toscanini performances, including "The Magic Flute", in addition to the usual serenades, dramatic spectacles, concerts and pageants will draw thousands from all over the world to this city, which during the six weeks' festival season sees more artistic and social celebrities than any other spot on earth.

Carinthia's mid-summer fetes will once more present a vivid picture of the dozens of different costumes of the lush provinces of Austria's sunny south. The largest fetes will take place on the shores of the sparkling blue Woerther Lake which lends itself so well to the costume regattas characteristic in their color of Carin-

thian peasant revels.



HUNGARIAN TOURIST BUREAU

# H U N G A R By STEPHEN GOERL, Manager

By STEPHEN GOERL, Manager Hungarian Travel Bureau

HUNGARY is a leader in the European campaign to make American travelers feel appreciated and welcome. Inbound trains at the Hungarian border are boarded by government officials whose function is to greet visitors from abroad and to lend them every assistance on entering a strange land. Tipping in hotels, restaurants and on trains has been abolished by government order. Foreign exchange is marked down sharply in favor of the tourist, with



As different as a baseball game is from a bull fight, and yet, but a step away.

and yet, but a step away.

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almost no restrictions as to amount or how the money shall be spent.

An agreeable feature of this practical hospitality is that one senses that the Hungarians really mean it. Of course, sound business reasons underlie the whole policy, but it has no mercenary flavor; the best proof of that is that many good things, notably foods and wines, are almost ridiculously low-priced in Magyarland. The Hungarians are an honest, frank, kindly, almost naive people. They enjoy life, and want their guests to enjoy themselves.

The Hungarian capital, ancient Budapest, is probably the most gay and colorful city in Europe today.

The Corso, heart of Budapest's nightlife, is truly a spot to forget care and worry and everything prosaic and hum drum and dull. It is a wide promenade bordered solidly by hotels, coffee shops, cafes, bars and restaurants. The place is filled with music. The leisurely throng that strolls or sits and sips ranges from modishly clad women and brilliantly uniformed officers-for Budapest is "smart" and sophisticatedto genuine peasants in picturesque native costumes.

The Hungarian countryside is a region of villages right out of the Middle Ages, of great estates with castles where the traveler can arrange without difficulty to hunt all kinds of game from wild boar to hares and pheasant, (with guaranteed tremendous bags) mountains, forests and innumerable healing baths. Over in the far eastern end of the country there are great plains where Magyar cowboys herd big droves of cattle and horses.

Hungary is a fine objective for travelers who yearn for something different.

# NORWAY

By KNUT OLSEN, Manager Norwegian Travel Bureau

HERE is hardly any country which enjoys a higher standard of living today than Norway, and a visitor to this little Kingdom on "the roof of the World" can not fail to observe general happiness and contentment. Perhaps this experience somewhat puzzles them.

Travel agents and illustrated literature no doubt have helped to picture Norway's scenic wonders, such as the incomparable fjords, snowcapped mountains, glittering glaciers, peaceful and fertile valleys and the splendor of the Midnight Sun; also the Lapps, who wander about in Arctic Norway with their herds of reindeer; even how many millions of horsepower there are in the roaring and picturesque waterfalls, but little is said or heard about Norway's wellorganized farming, industry and shipping.

With all due respect to government and the good administration generally which have provided an educational system of the highest standard, some of the finest hospitals in the world, old age insurance, etc., there are other reasons for this healthy-looking, sportsloving na-tion's happiness. Nature herself has presented the Norwegian people with the most ideal place on the globe for outdoor life and sports-summer as well as winter, open road as well as the tingle of crisp snow.

There are the highlands with shooting grounds and streams and lakes where trout abound; the peaks and glaciers for hikers and climbers. There are hundreds of rivers teeming with salmon. The wide calm waters of the fjords and innumerable snug little bays provide a paradisc for the yachtsman and the bather.



The keen motorist is thrilled by the roads climbing the mountains even to the most remote parts, revealing the beauties of the heights.

All these playgrounds are within easy reach. Railways, automobiles and steamers connect on a clockwork schedule. Hotels, however small, are comfortable and spotlessly clean, and they are supervised by government inspectors.

The tall, blue-eyed Norwegian welcomes the stranger to share the gifts which nature so profusely has bestowed upon his country. He receives the visitor from abroad as an honored guest, and is neither obsequious nor neglectful, and as he is a linguist, the English speaking traveler may safely leave the phrase book at home.





# REVIEW OF REVIEWS

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

DR. LYMAN P. POWELL has written a book (now in the press and soon to appear) the title of

which is "The Second Seventy". The Bible is a noble heritage of wisdom and truth, and in its various books it contains rules and precepts that countless millions have found sufficient for the guidance of life and the ordering of conduct. But in spite of the legislature of Tennessee, the more enlightened students of the Bible do not regard its detached allusions as expressing finality in scientific matters. Some of its observations have at times been taken too literally. It is true that

an ancient author of psalms and proverbs thought that human life reached its maximum of useful achievement in what we would now regard as an early period. It is ominously true that he fixed the mark of "three score and ten" as that of extreme old age, to be outlived only in sorrow and pain. But did he not create in men's minds certain needless apprehensions? There has been a strong tendency, even in these less superstitious times, to regard the age of seventy as a deadline.

The writer of these comments several years ago proposed (not too seriously) to Professor Pitkin, author of "Life Begins at Forty", to join him in producing a companion volume to be entitled "Life Does NOT End at Seventy". Dr. Powell now deals with this subject in a manner that has singular timeliness, in view of the universal discussion aroused by the President's message to Congress of February 5, in which it is held that judges ought not to sit in judgment after they have passed

the seventieth birthday. Having read Dr. Powell's book before publication, we are prepared to recommend it with enthusiasm to those who would like to know what part our veterans may hope to have in the scheme of modern life. For this is not the epoch of King David, nor the more extravagant time of uxorious Solomon.

The country's greatest asset lies in the character and quality of its people. Childhood is of first im-

BY ALBERT SHAW

proper development of the rising generation is our sole insurance against a rapid decline and fall of the nation. Next in importance is the conservation of the mature and capable leaders of the community. Their accumulated resources of knowledge are vitally requisite to further progress. Their guidance and leadership are necessary in public affairs and in all professions. Medical science has greatly reduced montality in early childhood. In

in public affairs and in all professions. Medical science has greatly reduced mortality in early childhood. In like manner it has come strongly to the support of those who have outlived the perils of the forties and

> fifties, and who are not disposed to side-step responsibilities when past the sixtieth milestone.

portance, because the care and

To the blazing controversy over the federal judges we shall revert in later paragraphs. Meanwhile, we may observe that longevity is a theme that constantly takes on new phases of discussion because of remarkable advances due to medical research. Why too many athletes die in the forties is, of course, no great mystery. Perhaps they have overstrained the heart muscles. Or, too often, they may have lived carelessly, in undue reliance upon exceptional resources of physical strength. Nei-



ELIHU ROOT, WHO DIED AT 92

ther is it a mystery to medical science that men and women in considerable numbers who were of delicate health in the earlier decades will show all the signs of comparative youthfulness at eighty. They had acquired the habit of self-preservation, and thus outlived periods of critical illness. But medical research is now clearing up many other things that had been mysterious until lately. The so-called "old" are often found to be "young" by the tests of diagnosticians.

STATESMAN

ELIHU ROOT- At the very moment when the President's message called for the retirement of elderly judges, death

claimed the most eminent American statesman of the present century, Elihu Root. If he had lived a week longer he would have entered upon his ninety-third year. He had advanced twenty-two years in the "second seventy", about which Dr. Powell writes. For several years he had allowed himself more rest than formerly, and had avoided front-page publicity in the discussion of public issues. But to the end of his life he had held rank as the foremost member of the American bar. He had survived as the publicist most highly esteemed in both hemispheres. He was the patriot who had always given of his best to the country as public servant and private citizen. His name stood foremost in the membership of the Republican party; but partisanship with him was no object in itself. He always considered measures and policies upon their merits. In the case of a man like Mr. Root the quality of judgment, constantly exercised and tested in the light of long observation and experience, becomes valuable beyond any method of appraisal.

In the December number of this periodical we published a group of articles on inter-American affairs, to emphasize the holding of the Buenos Aires Conference, and to support the objects of President Roosevelt's notable trip to South America. After reading those articles several weeks ago, Mr. Root wrote privately to the editor in terms of full approval. He proceeded to express his endorsement of the policies of Secretary Hull, and the present conduct of the State Department. As the leading member of President Mc-Kinley's cabinet Mr. Root had shaped the constitutional framework of the new Republic of Cuba. He had created the plan for administering Puerto Rico, and he was responsible for creating the Bureau of Insular Affairs and for Mr. Taft's mission to the Philippines.

Having served five years as Secretary of War in the McKinley cabinet Mr. Root retired in order to resume his New York law practice. With Mr. Carter dead and Mr. Choate abroad, Elihu Rcot was now at the head of the bar, with a large professional income. But sixteen months later he was called to the office of Secretary of State under President Theodore Roosevelt. He gave up his practice, and served in the cabinet for more than four years, after which he held a seat in the United States Senate for a six-year term that ended in 1915. The briefest possible mention of Mr. Root's activities, services and public honors during the long career that ended only with his death would require much space. Only a careless or ignorant thinker could suppose that such a man as Mr. Root had outlived his usefulness, and that he was lingering on in a state of unhappy dependence upon the care of younger people who might have been better occupied. The touch of his wisdom was applied in many important directions during the twenty-two years of his "second seventy".

Colonel Edward M. House stated last month that if Mr. Root had been a member of the Paris Peace Conference the course of world history might have been changed for the better. Mr. Root and Mr. Taft were our most widely experienced internationalists and negotiators. They were both fully committed to the Wilsonian objective of a world organization to main-

tain peace and to provide for the orderly adjustment of disputes. They would not have permitted an unjust settlement that could not be maintained, and that was fraught with future troubles. Neither would they have given their approval to certain obvious defects in the structure of the League of Nations.

Nevertheless, they were hopeful about the future of the League. They believed that it could be rebuilt upon sound lines. Also, they were strong advocates of American membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice, sitting at The Hague. Only eight years ago Mr. Root was in Europe at the invitation of the League, working out a plan by means of which the United States could take part in the selection of members of the Permanent Court at The Hague. President Roosevelt has supported Mr. Root's plan, and so has Secretary Hull; but the Senate has continued to withhold approval.

There must indeed be a future organization of the world to end wars and save civilization. But it must be an organization of the friendly peoples of the world, and not one of the nationalist rulers. The governing groups are always scheming for advantages against one another. They are maintaining rival armaments, and exalting nationalism at the expense of the universal welfare of men, women and children. But how can we proceed in order to realize those aims of world accord that Mr. Root has promoted on so many specific occasions, and for which Woodrow Wilson was willing to lay down his life?

It would be useless just now to set about the business of transforming the machinery of world institutions. It is to be hoped, meanwhile, that half-ahundred small nations will continue to meet at Geneva, and that the League may shake off the domination of the group of great powers that have hitherto controlled it and made it subordinate to their own selfish schemes. Even at its feeblest and worst, however, the League of Nations has been rendering valuable service to the world in many ways; and the United States, although not a recognized member, has proved to be always cordial and helpful as a cooperating associate. As things now stand, American interest and good-will are appreciated at Geneva.

GOOD **NEIGHBORS** 

What then should we consider as immediately possible, in view of international discords and misunderstand-

ings? The first answer that occurs to us can be stated in four words: Cultivate Friendship, Promote Intercourse. Franklin Roosevelt has hit upon a fine phrase. the "good neighbor". "He has used the term with reference to the official relations of our government with other governments, especially those of the western hemisphere. He has endeavored in dealing with Mexico, for example, to keep alive the tradition of a former ambassador, the late Dwight Morrow. He has assured the whole of Latin America that we are seeking no undue advantage in any quarter, and have no desire to dominate or to interfere. Mr. Root had inserted in the Cuban constitution a clause known as the Platt Amendment. It was intended to give sponsorship and stability to the young Cuban republic in the earlier period. It is now willingly abrogated, as an evidence that the United States claims no rights over smaller neighbors. The Filipinos kept insisting that they wanted to run an independent republic, and

Uncle Sam has been only too ready to oblige them. Last month an article in this periodical showed with what alacrity the Japanese are inclined to associate themselves with the tribal groups of the Philippines in the future life of the Archipelago. The peoples of the Far East, however, will work out their own destinies. Uncle Sam has only to wish them well, and to realize once for all that nothing could be so futile as the idea that Washington advice can direct the course of trans-Pacific affairs.

By all means let the "good neighbor" policy be encouraged as it relates to official proceedings; but we have in mind certain things that are closer to the private citizen, though also related to government aims. The thing we have to propose is a more romantic and adventurous attitude of friendliness toward people in general at home and abroad.

For example, let us consider the sentiment of Americans toward the ancestral lands and peoples across the Atlantic. Several of those countries, notably Great Britain and France, owe the United States great sums of money that they find it convenient to ignore. They might easily enough pay the annual interest in the form of travel credits, to be handled through official bureaus. Such a plan would benefit everybody concerned; but official minds work slowly, and the completed project would have to be prepared with the aid of steamship and railroad experts before it could be considered or before it could be put into practice.

Our advice to Americans, meanwhile, is to do everything possible to stimulate the flow of European travel, and to make a high record for the year 1937. At the same time our suggestion to the friendly citizens of European countries is to compel their governments to abolish the stupidities of passports, frontier regulations, and all vexatious interferences with the comings and goings of innocent travelers. Before the war, one could travel in Europe as freely as in the United States. After the war, for years, the visitor could not enter a continental village without reporting to the police, presenting documents of identification, showing by certificate that he had actually been born somewhere, and making affidavit about the conduct and character of his grandparents.

#### Readers will find in the present TRAVEL number of this magazine the urgent AND LEARN assurances of a number of authorized agents of European countries that such regulations are either abolished or modified. American

visitors will be welcomed in every possible way, and protected from needless formalities. These assurances can be relied upon, and we are glad to give them

publicity.

We have been warned that a European war, involving many countries, is scheduled for the near future. Also, we have been informed—especially by persons deriving information from British and French sources -that in case of war we will have to send a few millions of our sons to Europe again, in order to uphold the principle of democracy against the principle



C CUNARD WHITE STAR, LTD.

Americans this coronation year will travel abroad in vast numbers

of dictatorship. On this subject, we have one word to say to Americans and another to our friends across the sea. To Americans we would say, go to Europe as freely as possible, behaving normally and thus helping to bring war-crazed Europeans back to sanity. To our friends of England and France, who have been urging us (by means not too well concealed) to be preparing to back them in case of their undertaking another conquest of Germany, we would say that they should not be too certain about the American point of view.

This country is determined not to go to war. It has not the slightest fear of Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin; nor is it to be scared into any misunderstanding with Japan. It cannot be too strongly asserted that the United States has brains enough to keep out of another European war. But if we were to refer to a referendum the question which side we would preferably support in case of a general conflict, the result would be doubtful. That half of our population descended from Germans and Irishmen, along with many Americans of the far west (including Texas), might not take the prescribed course. The surviving members of the American Legion who fought in the last great war might refuse to support what they regard now to be the over-expanded empires of Great Britain and France.

No peoples today are more anxious to keep the peace than those of England and France. No population would suffer more from a war than that of Germany. To these three countries the duty is committed of leading Europe back to the best traditions of peace and civilization. Let us encourage them to reconcile their needless differences.

If America were dragged into another foreign war our resources could hardly pay the bills for another hundred years. But if we can help at this time to keep the world from starting such a conflict we will have rendered our best possible service to all the people of this mundane sphere. Sometimes quite simple remedies go far to defeat threatening calamities. The arrival of a casual visitor has often saved a quarreling family from fatal consequences. What is true in the homely life of village neighbors may be equally true in principle on a great scale. Mr. Hull

says, let us encourage commerce and trade. We add, let us promote intercourse and vacation travel.

Our British friends are making their best preparation to entertain the world, with his wife and children, through this Coronation year. The principal half of the education that makes life worth living is that which is continuous through adult years; and no kind of education could be more valuable than that which is associated with the experiences of travel. We are publishing articles about the British homeland and the British Empire, in the hope that we may stimulate readers to enjoy the benefits of foreign travel during the present year.

It is sad enough to say that Americans should not this year plan to visit Spain; but where else may they not go, with entire assurance of safety and beneficial experience? The people living and working in Germany today are no more to be blamed about the war of twenty years ago than the Eskimos above the Arctic Circle. Neither are these Germans enslaved under a dictator. On the contrary, they are people of education and culture, certainly as capable of the town-meeting type of popular government as those of our own New England.

They submit to a dictatorship because they are on a war footing, rising from defeat and humiliation. They were compelled to accept a peace treaty that left them under permanent disadvantages, in defiance of justice and common-sense. Under a dictatorship a nation may mass its strength for definite achievements. The whole world looks on at England and France, wondering how soon they may improve their reputations for good judgment by giving Germany a reasonable share in the business of administering colonial territories.

Certainly American visitors should not travel in Europe to offer political advice; they should go as guests to learn and to enjoy. The very fact of cheerful visitors in great numbers, patronizing the new travel facilities and the fine hotels, will exert a decided influence in favor of peaceful negotiation rather than war-like menace.

Let the traveler leave his prejudices at home, forgetting to boast of our twenty-five million automobiles and forbearing to mention our bath tubs, electric refrigerators and oil-burning furnaces. We have derived our civilization from Europe, and we are akin to the peoples of that historic continent.

A war would cost us the greater part of our material possessions, and above all it would sacrifice our young men on the hateful altar of Moloch. As a part of its defensive program, our government could well afford to spend half a billion dollars a year to promote foreign scholarships, to give travel allowances to American teachers, and to find other forms of concrete expression for good-neighbor sentiments.

The most deplorable thing about the strikes that labor leaders promote for their own selfish ends is the needless creation of ill-will. Few things could be at once so foolish and so productive of misery and confusion. We cannot help droughts and floods. But we ought to abate the shameful losses due to racketeering under the mask of organized labor. False distinctions are set up, as if our productive industry must never be coöperative and harmonious, but must always be

carried on by two forces hostile to each other, signing truces now and then, but soon to be broken regardless of good faith and common sense.

It is true that present-day industry employs capital in larger volume, and needs workmen in far larger numbers, than in the early days when the individual blacksmith or wheelwright or cooper ran his own shop, employing a helper or two if he needed them. However, there is still wide room in many fields for individual effort.

Scores of thousands of men have gone to Detroit of their own free will. They stay because their employment suits their taste. They are in no need of the solicitude of Washington officialdom, as Miss Frances Perkins has made herself believe. Even if it would like to do so—as it does not—industrial management could not thrive and prosper in an atmosphere of chronic hostility on the part of employed workmen. Success for any business means mutual helpfulness and coöperation all the way down the line.

If the racketeers can be suppressed, the real workmen will know how to get on with their employers. They should not be coerced into paying tribute to any organization whatsoever. If there should be lack of reasonable wages and conditions of employment, the facts would be publicly exposed and remedies would not be long delayed. So-called collective bargaining as between the people actually concerned is not a point in question anywhere.

Most members of managerial groups have themselves been workmen. The future managers are the sons of workmen, and are now under training in the schools. Let the rule be to produce without limit, to distribute without stint, and to seek for every industrious family such abundance of means and opportunity as we would like to have for ourselves. To assert class distinction in the United States is sheer nonsense. Mr. Roosevelt's "economic royalists" are a figment of the imagination, created to serve a passing moment in the fervor of a campaign speech.

But there are other false social atti-

# SECTIONAL

tudes, and unworthy prejudices, be-PREJUDICE sides those that seek to array labor against capital. There are prevalent doubts about the value of certain foreign-born elements in our population. Before the great war, New York had become a city made up in greater part of peoples from eastern and southern Europe, who had arrived much more recently than the elements of Irish and German origin. Today one finds hundreds of thousands of young Americans in New York speaking excellent English without foreign accent. They are eager supporters of what they regard as best worthwhile in the opportunities afforded by life in the United States. These are the children of Poles, Italians, Russian Jews, Hungarians, Greeks, and various other nationalities of eastern Europe.

There are criminals recruited from this young generation, but the number of gangsters and offenders is surprisingly small in the circumstances of an immense metropolis. We may as well, therefore, change our minds about the new population of our great cities. The public schools are performing a wonderful work of Americanization. It is worth while to make friends with this new generation, at once bright-minded and keen about athletic sports.

There are some lingering sectional prejudices, fortunately not growing more intense. The West was disposed only a few years ago to think of the East in terms of Wall Street money-sharks and corporations. But the western politicians have brought the railroads under their complete control. They have investigated the mortgage holders and money lenders. They have made the Treasury of the United States responsive to their slightest needs. Accordingly they began to forgive the East for its faults of industry and thrift.

As far as the southern prejudice against northerners, it has vanished before two trends of influence. Chief of these is personal contact. There is more leisure and better facilities for travel so that northern people by the million are learning to enjoy winter vacations all the way from the Carolinas and Florida to Arizona and southern California. Many thousands of southern people have learned to enjoy New England, New York, the Great Lake regions, and the National Parks of the far north-west, in the summer months.

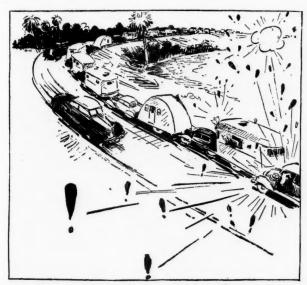
COUNTRY

During the present season, the southward trend has been notable in spite of milder winter weather in the north than last year. The experiment of reduced railroad fares is proving satisfactory. Main highways are completed, and are so perfect that what the French call "tourism" by automobiles makes an average dis-

tance of several hundred miles a day with entire ease.

This year the trailer fashion has seized the American fancy, and there are hundreds of so-called "Trailer Camps" in the southern states, where vacationists park in ingenious outfits, and stay for longer or shorter intervals, proceeding ad libitum from one place to another. The cartoonist "Ding" (J. N. Darling) in a series of illustrated newspaper articles (published in the New York Herald-Tribune in January) has given a delightful account of his own experience in a trailer trek from Iowa to Florida.

The writer of these comments, traveling by rail and by automobile, has had glimpses within the past year or two of nearly all of our forty-eight states. No matter how swift the transit from one place to



"Ding" finds a trailer traffic jam on the road to Florida

another, he makes it a practice to buy and read the local newspapers. He talks familiarly with fellow travelers, men at filling stations, and inhabitants of all types and ages. If one had only two hours between trains at Laramie or at Jacksonville, it is surprising what could be seen under encouragement of an intelligent taxi driver, eager to show off his town.

One finds the people of the United States today intent upon digging in and building up. Most of the legislatures have been in session during the past few weeks; and the visitor promptly discovers that the states still regard themselves as sovereign units. They have no thought of losing their authority or going out of business, merely because Uncle Sam has been so indulgent in paying for their public works and in providing relief money for as many people as are willing to take it. The states are not expecting such Federal bounty to be permanent; and so they are taking all they can get. Meanwhile they are trying to maintain their self-respect and to excuse the obvious impropriety of lavish subsidies from Washington.

There is at least something to show for the local grants that have been made. New school houses, new postoffice buildings, improved highways, a scant beginning of better housing for wage-earners. All such things and many more are readily discovered by the traveler who looks about him and makes inquiries. One finds, in all neighborhoods, the gossip that certain people are too lazy to work and are grafting on the relief system. Yet the American people, as a whole, may be exonerated from the charge that they have been deliberately corrupted by Harry Hopkins and Jim Farley for political reasons.

These remarks are not made in forgetfulness of the late floods in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Nor is it possible to survey the country, however casually, without having in mind the recent droughts of the Northwest, the desert encroachments of the Southwest, and the dust-storms that have followed the postwar speculative efforts to turn the semi-arid grazing plains into immense wheat fields as highly mechanized as a Pittsburgh steel mill.

PEOPLE AND THE LAND When the Resettlement Administration was set up in May 1935, Mr. Tugwell was placed in

full command. It was in direct consequence of the unfortunate rural conditions that were intensified especially by drought and repeated crop failure, that the plan was adopted at Washington to undertake on a broad scale the transfer of farm families from impoverished places to advantageous localities.

The Dakotas were occupied in a rush for free lands under the homestead and preëmption laws. But even in the pioneer days there were ominous periods of dry weather and there were scourges of grasshoppers and other pests. What has become of the pioneer farmers who once owned lands holding to the homestead average of a hundred and sixty acres? Voluntary resettlement has wholly changed the Dakota scene. The farms today average from four to six times as large as at the beginning of this century. It takes a while for populations to adapt themselves to unexpected conditions of soil and climate in a new region. The transitions are numerous and extremely interesting, as our states mature and establish their own oscillating balances as regards types of rural

industry, and ratios between urban and country populations. Mr. Tugwell began with bold and ambitious projects involving millions of acres and many thousands of people. But he found human nature, like the western climate, not too manageable.

For the United States government to undertake all of a sudden to intervene on a nation-wide scale in these unceasing processes of social transition, was one of the most amateurish of all the ventures of an agricultural department that has been prolific of remedial cure-alls, but devoid of the prudence that comes with experience.

These problems of land use within the states have long been studied by trained authorities in the agricultural colleges. It was appropriate that federal grants of money should be made, in view of the sweeping extent of crop failure in a number of states. But the local authorities were competent to give such advice to farm families as circumstances required.

With all the unprecedented power STRIKE that the executive department at SETTLEMENT Washington has acquired, it has not been able as yet to establish industrial peace. The maritime strike on the Pacific Coast wore itself out after a complete deadlock that lasted just short of one hundred days. Losses incurred by the general public were far greater than those of the two contending parties. The men finally voted (seven to one) to end a strike that had exhausted their power of endurance. The waiting ships took on full crews in the early days of February. Some advantages were conceded to the men, but these could have been obtained by fair arbitration without interference with business. The Pacific coast will have to learn how to protect its own interests in affairs of this kind.

The automobile strike, although seemingly encouraged by the government at Washington, has had far less actual claim upon public sympathy, because a lawless minority was permitted for many weeks to throw the great majority of workers out of employment.

The dead-lock had lasted for forty-four days when it came to an end by the signing of an agreement between the company and John L. Lewis, who had assumed the position of Napoleonic master of the strikers. A new organization called the United Automobile Workers Union had proposed to rule the entire automobile industry. The young Baptist minister nominally at the head of the movement was thrust aside in the course of the contest, and the dictator Lewis, occupying a hotel suite in Detroit, took full command. He pronounced himself satisfied with the settlement and claimed a great victory.

Mr. Sloan, at the head of General Motors, quietly declared that there was nothing in the agreement that sacrificed any of the principles set forth in the statement made by him at the beginning. The new union is allowed to be the bargaining agency only for its own actual members. It agrees to stop trying to intimidate workers who do not belong to it. Also it agrees not to violate the rules of law, order and decency by further strikes of violence while "bargaining" is in process. Mr. William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, declares that in dividing the forces of unionism, Lewis had suffered a defeat that must affect harmfully the broad advance of organized labor.

The ordinary citizen can hardly escape the conclusion that this bitter contest, so needlessly prolonged, was not primarily a struggle between labor and capital. It was an echo of the political victory gained last November. Mr. Lewis was frank enough to base his bold adventure upon the government support he claimed, in return for millions of labor votes given to the Democratic party.

A stern word promptly issued from the White House, upholding the courts and denouncing the "sitdown" strike as lawless, outrageous and un-American, might have disconcerted John L. Lewis; but it would have ended the strike. It would have saved many millions of dollars to honest workmen, and would have secured exactly the same privileges of negotiation as were conceded by General Motors on February 11th. Governor Murphy and the Michigan authorities could not eject the sit-down strikers without danger of bloodshed while they enjoyed the encouragement of the Secretary of Labor. All parties wished to avoid violence in the enforcement of the law. It was the political background at Washington, as frankly stated by Mr. Lewis, that carried the strike along through forty-four days.

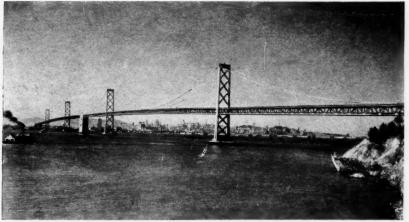
PROGRESS
Comparison over long periods is what discloses the best reason for faith in the future. There can never be great progress without heavy costs. We must expect turbulence and reaction. At the present moment the cities illustrate our advancement more conspicuously than the villages and the open country; but this is to be expected under the economic conditions of the present period.

The magnificent development of New York City as a world metropolis deserves especial attention. It belongs to the whole country, and it is amazingly interesting in its architecture, its new bridges and boulevards, its facilities for recreation, and the success with which it cares for the health of its people and



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Henry Hudson Bridge across the Harlem opened in December, connecting Manhattan Island with Westchester County parkways to the north. Right, the Hudson River



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Looking toward San Francisco from Yerba Buena Island, showing the main span of the bridge opened in November, connecting San Francisco and Oakland

At Washington there has be-

come firmly established, since

for the education of its sons and daughters. There are thousands of intelligent people in the United States who have clear memories of New York City as it was more than half a century ago. It is they who can best appreciate the significance of our urban progress.

Chicago had the courage to make its great exposition depict on a magnificent scale the material advancement of the United States since the settlement of the Mississippi valley. Other cities have exhibited no less courage in their own seasons of trial or opportunity. The new San Francisco is a notable example of civic achievement. Throughout the country our urban communities show marked changes for the better in the dignity of their public buildings and appointments, and in the charm of their homes and pleasure grounds. This statement applies to the cities of the great central valley from Minneapolis and St. Paul to New Orleans, from Pittsburgh down the Ohio, and all along other main tributaries of the Mississippi. Floods will not cease with that of the present year; but such well-established centers as Cincinnati, Louisville, and other cities that have suffered loss in the recent overflow of the mighty waterways, will be protected against future disasters of this kind. The country can afford to supply the necessary public works to reinforce those heretofore provided.

# THE ATTACK ON OUR JUDGES

the first half of 1933, the belief that almost every desirable thing can be accomplished swiftly through the federal government as an instrument of power, if President Roosevelt's exercise of that instrument is not obstructed. The people have been persuaded to elect one Congress after another pledged to acquiesce and expedite rather than to delay or obstruct the presidential program. Organized labor has supported the President with its votes, and it demands legislation to enforce its plan of compulsory government control of wages, hours and economic conditions. But the labor leaders have realized that the federal judiciary as now constituted would probably find their measures unconstitutional. If they are to have their way, the independence of the judiciary must be sacrificed. Judges must be appointed who can be relied upon to interpret the Constitution

in accordance with the administration's plans and policies.

Federal judges have life tenure. A majority of the nine members of the Supreme Court are well along in the seventies. The President proposes to have them resign on full pay, asking Congress to give him authority to appoint additional judges if those above the age of seventy prefer to remain on the bench. If the Constitution had provided that judges should retire at seventy, we would not have been likely to change the rule, regardless of its value. But Mr. Roosevelt is not dealing with this question upon its abstract merits. He wishes to reorganize

the bench in advance of its opportunity to deal with his measures.

To say that we regret his determination to cross this Rubicon is to express an opinion as mildly as we find possible. The Court has had the country's confidence to an extent not equalled by the other two branches of the government. It is true that the President and Congress, acting together, could dilute the bench to any possible extent, destroying its independent position and its reputation for ability and character. We are not for a moment charging the President with any such design. At least Congress will not act upon the bill that was handed it for acceptance without more debate than has been customary in the past four years.

We may, however, conclude with a further remark upon the capacity and efficiency of many of our fellow citizens who have passed the age of seventy. No other man has kept as close a tab upon the outstanding Americans of the past four decades as Mr. A. N. Marquis, himself one of the veterans. He has been a publisher in Chicago for half a century, and has from the beginning edited that indispensable reference book, "Who's Who in America." His latest edition contains more than thirty thousand biographical sketches of living Americans; and the earlier volumes include a still greater number of those who no longer answer when their names are called. A casual examination of the seventy-five thousand biographies that Mr. Marquis has presented since 1899 would bring to light, as an outstanding fact, the remarkable number of men in various callings whose activities have continued beyond the age limit of three-score and ten.

In response to an inquiry after the appearance of the President's message, Mr. Marquis expressed dissent from Mr. Roosevelt's views. As a result of his unequalled acquaintance with the record of influential Americans he declares: "Many minds are at their best after seventy, especially when deliberate, unbiased judgment is required." The Constitution provided life tenure for federal judges. Certainly the men of today who serve on the bench are not less capable of endurance than the contemporaries of John Marshall or Roger B. Taney. Is it not the wiser opinion that our judges can be trusted to decide for themselves whether to retire or to remain on the bench?

# SUPPENE CONTEMPS COURT CONTEMPS COURT COUR

From the New York World-Telegram

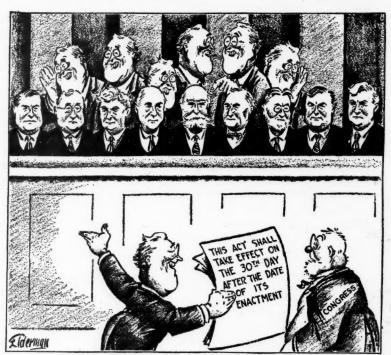


From the Christian Science Monitor



From the New York Times

# SUPREME COURT



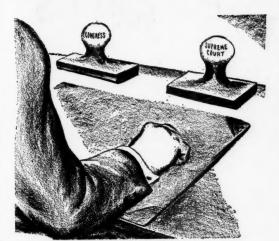
From the Washington Post



From the Des Moines Register

Fron

# ISSUE



From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch



From the Columbus Dispatch



From the Nashville Banner



From the Richmond Times-Dispatch



From the Phoenix Arizona Republic

# THE MARCH OF EVENTS

## HIGHLIGHTS

\*\*\* A settlement is reached in the sitdown phase of Michigan's automobile strike, the union gaining recognition.

\*\*\* San Francisco's costly shipping strike is ended, the union successful.

\*\*\* Racketeers in New York adopt labor-union methods and emblems.

\*\*\* President Roosevelt proposes four major ideas to Congress, among them a novel plan to put youth (and liberals) on the Supreme Court bench.

\*\*\* Ten states mop-up after floods along the Ohio and Mississippi.

\*\*\* Child-labor prevention, or youth control? That is still the question before state legislatures.

\*\*\* Great Britain feels the menace of war in Europe and provides for 71/2 billions of additional defense.

\*\*\* An epidemic of airplane disasters promotes the cause of prevention.

\*\*\* "The sentence of death was carried out" as it applied to Russian conspirators in high office.

\*\*\* Japan changes premiers; and the army rides more firmly in the saddle.

## A Sit-Down Strike Is Ended

On December 30 a comparatively small group of newly organized workers sat down at their places in automobile factories operated by the General Motors Corporation at Flint, in Michigan. For forty-four days they held the fort while federal and state mediators strove for a solution.

Management refused to dicker with men who, the courts declared (February 2), were in illegal possession of other persons' property. Labor leadership refused to relinquish its strangle-hold advantage. In the background was a struggle between rival labor leaders, William Green of the American Federation of Labor and his rival for supreme power, John L. Lewis.

A solution was found on February 11, largely through the tireless efforts of red-headed, curly-topped Frank Murphy, who had been installed as Governor after the strike began. Now 43 years old, Murphy

was Mayor of Detroit when appointed Governor General of the Philippines in 1933, later title High Commissioner. Obeying an SOS signal last fall he came home to carry Michigan for F. D. R.

The agreement reached on February 11 was a compromise. "There is no crowing on either side," said Vice President Knudsen who signed for General Motors. The United Automobile Workers had demanded that it be recognized as the sole collective bargaining agency for all General Motors automobile employees. The agreement recognized it as the agency for its members only; but the company in a letter to Governor Murphy promised not to bargain with any other union within six months, thus giving U.A.W. an opportunity to become all-powerful as a result of its new prestige. The union had also demanded that the plants remain closed pending negotiation of wages and hours. This, too, it abandoned in the compromise agreement. What the union won was recognition.

Negotiations were begun on February 16, but the real battle was then over. By coincidence a wage increase of 5 cents an hour was announced by General Motors on the day the peace treaty was signed. It followed by one day a wage increase by Chrysler Corporation, and was the second advance within three months. On a yearly basis the two increases by

General Motors mean \$55,000,000 more for workers.

## Peace Comes to the Waterfront

A strike of maritime workers on the Pacific Coast that had lasted 98 days was ended on February 4. Forty thousand men had been idle, 240 ships had been tied up at their piers, and \$700,000,000 was the estimated cost of this test of strength.

There can be no estimate made of the inconvenience of this strike, not merely to travelers and shippers but to the public in general. A visitor to Long Beach, in the New York City area, for example, will find that community almost paralyzed though 3000 miles from the strike zone. Its famous board-walk was being replaced, the old one already demolished, when lumber ships stopped coming from Northwest ports.

The strikers were successful in gaining wage increases and control of hiring halls. The employers won only the right to select masters, mates, pilots, and engineers. Longshoremen, seamen, cooks, stewards, firemen, radio operators, and such, must be obtained from union-operated hiring halls.

A sympathetic strike of seamen in Atlantic and Gulf ports had flickeredout on January 24, through exhaustion of funds.



ACME

After flood waters subsided there was the problem of caring for homeless. A Red Cross camp is the scene of this young lady's reading job

#### Labor's War Chest

John L. Lewis and his Committee on Industrial Organization emerge triumphant from the automobile strike, in the eyes of the rank and file of organized labor. The sit-down strike is a new and potent weapon that the Governor of Michigan tolerated for six weeks.

Governor Hoffman of New Jersey, hearing of a decision of eleven unions to copy the idea in his own state, warned them on February 15 that he would use every resource of the state "to preserve the rights, liberties, and properties of its citizens." He went on to declare that "a labor union has no more right to take possession of a factory than a band of gangsters to take possession of a bank."

Prominent in Mr. Lewis' C.I.O. is Sidney Hillman and his Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. By peaceful negotiation that ended on February 13, Mr. Hillman obtained for his 135,000 workers in the men's clothing industry a 12 per cent increase in wages, amounting to \$30,000,000 yearly. A feature of the settlement was the assertion of Mr. Hillman that the rise has nothing to do with the cost of living but is recognition of the fact that workers are entitled to a larger share in the fruits of their industry.

Thereupon the clothing workers donated \$500,000 of their pay increase to the C.I.O. war chest. Capital is being compelled to finance labor, it seems.

## Picket Lines As Extortioners' Weapons

A special prosecutor doing a thorough job is helping New Yorkers to understand that picketing—in the metropolis at least—has become a racket. No matter whether your favorite restaurant is a sightseers' landmark or a humble branch of a cafeteria chain, you read testimony in the daily press that its proprietor has paid huge sums to gangsters who demonstrated their power to use labor-union pickets.

The Brass Rail, in the white-light district, had a picket line outside and two stench bombs inside before it paid \$1150 to a union official. The proprietor of Lindy's paid \$9000. A chain of twenty lunchrooms paid \$15,000. Another chain of fortytwo cafeterias paid \$47,000. Rosoff's paid \$3500. The St. Regis had a stench bomb and then paid \$4000 for immunity. Two unions are named frequently, Local 16 of the Waiters' Union and Local 302 of the Cafeteria Workers' Union. The president of Local 302 committed suicide



Governor Murphy announces settlement of the automobile strike. General Motors vice-president Knudsen is seated, with federal mediator Dewey

before the trial began, the chief collector pleaded guilty.

Testimony was offered to show that control of the unions had passed to gangsters, who used picketing as a means of extortion. The streets of the metropolis are dotted with pickets these days (carrying signs showing affiliation with the American Federation of Labor) whose excuse for existence too often is merely blackmail.

The efforts of Special Prosecutor Charles E. Dewey bring no thanks from organized labor. Instead, a special committee representing six labor organizations in New York City has been formed "to protect the rights of the American labor movement from the tactics that have been employed by Special Investigator Dewey, which if permitted to continue would undermine the entire structure of our movement."

# The President

On February 3, 5, 10, 15, and 18, President Roosevelt sent special messages to Congress.

The first of these transmitted a recommendation of his National Resources Committee on Public Works Planning, looking toward the expenditure of five billion dollars for public works over a period of six years. It would be a continuous program, revised annually, with a lump-sum appropriation in the budget each year to be allocated by a permanent public works organization. Expenditures would be reduced as

the country draws itself out of economic depression, and increased if another setback occurs.

Second among the President's February messages to Congress was that which concerned the Supreme Court. This is discussed in a subsequent paragraph.

Third was his transmission of the report of his Great Plains Drought Committee, of which Morris L. Cooke is chairman. It is proposed to create a federal agency charged with: supervision of a ten-year program; acquisition of as much as 24 million acres of range land to be conserved and improved for grazing; increasing the size of small farms through federal credit or lease; encouragement of better soil practices, development of other resources than farming (lignite, for example), etc.

Fourth among the President's messages to Congress, on February 16, transmitted a report of his committee on farm tenancy. A long-range program of federal and state assistance is recommended, to restore the dream of a family-size farm owned by the family which operates it. Tenants would be permitted to buy farms under a 40-year amortization plan.

The President's fifth special message to Congress, on February 18, was concerned with government crop insurance. It is proposed to start with wheat and with the crop year 1938. Farmers would pay premiums in the commodity itself in surplus years (or in cash) and would draw out in lean years. The Government would pay costs and overhead. Maximum insurance would be three-

fourth's of the average yield per acre. For example: an average yield of 12 bushels would permit insurance up to 9 bushels; and if the harvest is only 6 the farmer would draw 3 more from the Government's storage reserves.

## Re-styling the Supreme Court

All other suggestions of the President for new legislation were blanketed by his proposal to rejuvenate the Supreme Court. He would permit all justices over 70 (six of the present nine) to retire on full salary; and for those who fail to retire he would appoint an additional justice up to a maximum of fifteen.

It happens that the President had not been given the opportunity to name a single Supreme Court Justice during his first term. In contrast, Mr. Hoover had named three, Mr. Coolidge two, Mr. Harding three. And no President has needed a friendly Supreme Court more than Mr. Roosevelt. If Congress accedes to his wishes he will have the privilege of naming six new justices at once.

Quite as interesting and important as the suggestion itself was the comment it aroused throughout the country. We quote mainly those who are usually numbered among the President's supporters:

Senator Bennett C. Clark of Missouri: "Its immediate effect would involve the sack of the Supreme Court of the United States. . . . It amounts essentially to abolishing the Supreme Court and setting up a new tribunal with reference to particular legislation."

Senator Johnson of California:

"The issue stripped of its verbiage seems to be plain. Shall the Congress make the Supreme Court subservient to the Presidency? I can do but one thing, and that is to the limit of my capacity oppose this extraordinary legislation."

New York *Times*: "A precedent which would make any President the master of the Supreme Court by the mere process of enlarging it.... Those members of Congress who vote against it will prove themselves friends of democratic government."

New York World Telegram: "Our first reaction was that the plan was just too clever—to damned clever.... We are still of the same mind."

Frank E. Gannett, newspaper publisher: "If we permit one man to become master of all three branches of the government, then we shall have sounded the death knell of democracy."

The President based his proposal upon a charge that the federal judiciary is insufficient in numbers and inefficient because of old age. But it was promptly pointed out that the Supreme Court is up-to-date in its work, and that since the whole bench hears each case fifteen justices cannot do more work than nine.

As for the lower courts, it was stated that in 34 District courts where the dockets are in arrears only 4 are presided over by judges past seventy. Furthermore, there are nine vacancies in the federal courts which Mr. Roosevelt has not filled, including four District judgeships created by Congress last June, while he waits for local politicians to agree upon candidates. "By this time," writes Walter Lippmann after reciting such facts, "the claim that the object of the scheme is to expedite

justice has become too hollow to impress anyone."

## **Twenty-Second Amendment**

Last month saw one more state— New Mexico—joining the ranks of those which have ratified the proposed child-labor amendment. At the same time North Carolina and South Dakota rejected the amendment and Governor Charles F. Hurley of Massachusetts announced his personal opposition.

It was nearly thirteen years ago when Congress asked the states to give it "power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." It would have been the twentieth amendment if adopted promptly. Now its advocates call it the twenty-second amendment. Its opponents call it the "youth control amendment."

Only six states ratified it in the first eight years. Then came ratification by fourteen states in 1933, none in 1934, 1 in 1935, none in 1936, and by Kentucky, Nevada, and New Mexico so far this year. The total now is 27 states, with 9 more necessary.

The prohibition, repeal, and lameduck amendments contained a clause declaring them inoperative unless ratified within seven years.

Governor Hurley's denunciation was in reply to the President, who had appealed to governors for ratification. Hurley (February 4) called it "a staggering grant of power" over adolescents as well as children. "Whatever work they do, in the home and on the farm, within as well as outside the family, with or without compensation, would be under the absolute jurisdiction of any bureaucracy set up to administer the amendment." Even compulsory military training, involuntary work on public projects, attendance in concentration camps, etc., according to the Massachusetts governor, could come under this amendment.

# Britain Borrows

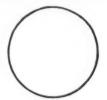
A "white paper" published by the British Government on February 16 gave details of a vast program of rearmament to meet the war menace. A five-year plan is laid down, to cost  $7\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars. Of this 2 billions are to be borrowed.

Interesting indeed is the continued reliance on battleships. Three of them are proposed, of 35,000 tons each, carrying 14-inch guns. Seven cruisers and two aircraft carriers also feature the navy plans. Tanks, planes, and full army mechanization are included.

# SUPREME COURT BALLOT

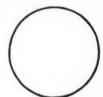
In the Supreme Court controversy between the President and the "constitutionalists", my sympathies are with—

# THE PRESIDENT OPPOSITION



My home is in.....State

My occupation is.....(Do not sign your name)

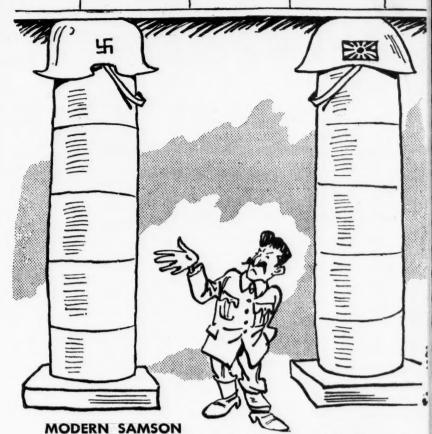


Please mark your preference on the above ballot, tear out and mail to Roger Shaw, Review of Reviews, 233 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. Letters or postcards will also be counted. Result in the April issue.

## WHAT IS IT?

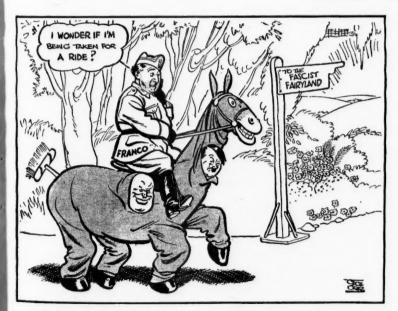
Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden is a question-mark today. Will he return "lost" colonies to "burglared" Germany, which wants to expand into Africa for markets and raw materials? From the witty Swiss Nebelspalter of Zurich.





ALLIANC

Here is an oriental cartoon, from the North China Daily News of Shanghai. It shows Stalin as the modern Samson; strongboy who is not afraid of the impressive pillars of a Jap-German alliance directed against Soviet Russia. Will he, or will he not, push the alliance columns down if sufficiently provoked?



## **PLAYING HORSE**

All the world loves a horse, and General Franco—Spanish rebel chieftain—seems to love the Italo-German steed that is carrying on his civil-war campaign. Note the three jolly faces of the Franco equine, en route for "fascist fairyland" and not getting there very fast. The Scotch Glasgow Record is not overly fond of contemporary dictatorial great-ones.



## POPEYE ABROAD

Holland knows all about Popeye, American movie superman. Here is a Popeye cartoon, showing the Herr Nazi and the Comrade Communist quarreling over an irritated European damsel who does not seem to fancy either of the two suitors. The Groene Amsterdammer thus presents a familiar theme, including spinach-can at the left of the picture.

Two days after introduction the scheme passed first reading in the House of Commons, 329 to 145.

Since the United States is committed to a navy "second to none", Congress is expected to be influenced by Britain's action.

Even more important, however, is the fear of navy watchdogs that Britain will bid for our steel in sufficient quantities to cause embarrassment. This is due to provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, which requires manufacturers on government contracts to observe too-advanced labor standards. Industry would rather do without Government business, especially if there is a good market elsewhere.

The Navy Department is anxious to have the Walsh-Healey provisions waived, but the Labor Department (now dominated by organized labor) is opposed. Meanwhile our steel plants already have failed to submit bids for 12,500 tons of steel for destroyers and submarines.

## After the Ohio Flood

The mildest winter that New York has ever known set a record for damage elsewhere, notably in California and along the Ohio River. Twice during January freezing temperatures visited the citrus regions of southern California, destroying a fourth of the state's fruit crop valued last year at \$112,000,000. It was worse than the freeze of 1913 or 1922.

Twelve to sixteen inches of rain in the first twenty-five days of January caused the Ohio River to rise and overflow its banks. The crisis came in Cincinnati and Louisville on January 24. Paducah was ordered evacuated of its 32,000 inhabitants, by health authorities, on the 29th.

Cairo, where the Ohio joins the Mississippi, successfully withstood flood stage for a full week, with the river 30 feet above normal. The first definite drop was noticed there on February 7. Memphis, on the Mississippi, saw an all-time high level from January 30 to February 8, the crest being 3½ feet higher than during the 1913 flood. New Orleans experienced water boiling up through streets near the waterfront on February 12, as a result of pressure on the river bed, but otherwise the flood passed harmlessly out into the Gulf three weeks after it wrought its first damage at Cincinnati.

A three-foot increase in the height of the levee system from Cairo to the Gulf, after the 1927 flood, saved the lower Mississippi this year from the disaster which visited cities along the Ohio. Higher banks not only hold back more water when the crisis

comes, but they also lessen the crisis itself by increasing the quantity of water that passes down river in the days preceding.

Damage in Louisville is estimated at \$200,000,000, with \$150,000,000 more elsewhere in Kentucky. Fatalities in Lousville numbered 221. In Cincinnati the cost was counted at \$15,000,000; elsewhere in Ohio, \$55,000,000. Altogether, in ten states, the damage estimates run as high as \$550,000,000, with 460 lives lost and 1,000,000 persons rendered temporarily homeless.

#### **Air Disasters**

Six transport plane disasters within two months, all in the West, place the industry and the federal Bureau of Air Commerce on their mettle. Their prime difficulty is an obvious failure to learn what goes wrong preceding a crash, though flying too low while approaching the landing field is apparently the chief cause.

Seven persons were in a plane that disappeared near Salt Lake City on December 15. Two pilots flying without passengers lost their lives in Idaho on December 18. Six airline employees were killed in a test flight in Texas on December 23. Twelve persons perished in a crash on California mountain peaks on December 27. Five were killed near Los Angeles on January 12. Eleven were killed, some by drowning, in San Francisco Bay on February 9. The loss of life in these six recent crashes was 43.

Meanwhile 1,020,931 passengers took the air route in 1936, compared with 590,000 in 1935. The planes flew 64 million miles.

A safety program has been formulated by Eugene Vidal, director of the Bureau of Air Commerce, in conference with air-line operators. Adoption of radio direction finders and anti-static loop antennae is an immediate undertaking.

## Hayashi Becomes Premier in Japan

Hirota to Ugaki to Hayashi. Thus is the premiership of Japan passed around, and the net result is a victory for the army. Koki Hirota resigned on January 23, after his War Minister had clashed with civilian critics in parliament. He had been at the helm only ten months.

Into the breach came General Kazushige Ugaki who, though four times War Minister and recently Governor General of Korea, was too moderate for the military clique which nearrules Japan. He never got as far as the Premier's chair, for the army exercises the extra-constitutional pre-

rogative of naming the Minister of War and it forbade any general officer to take the job under Ugaki. Press, public, and industry had applauded the Emperor's choice.

Another ex-Minister of War received the second mandate, General Senjuro Hayashi, 61 years old. As War Minister in February 1936 he had held himself responsible for the revolt of hot-headed young army officers that resulted in the assassination of too-conservative Finance Minister Takahashi. He resigned his post then, but comes back into higher office now. In Japan, it should be stated, the cabinet has not represented political majorities in the Diet since the military seized control of foreign policy six years ago.

The new regime is committed to heavy expenditure for "defense", but on the other hand is pledged to oppose a fascist revolution.

## Treason in Russia

Following a pattern made familiar in earlier trials, the military tribunal of the Soviet supreme court at Moscow found seventeen defendants guilty of sabotage, terrorism, and treasonable dealings with foreign powers. The trial began on January 25, ended on January 30, and the sentence of death for thirteen was carried out on February 1.

Among those executed was Gregory Piatakov, assistant commissar for heavy industry when the plotting occurred in 1933-35. Others had been the heads or assistant heads of communications, railroads, munitions industry, chemical industry, and so on.

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Four escaped with prison sentences, among them Karl Radek, former editor of *Izvestia*, and Gregory Sokolnikov, former Ambassador to Great Britain. That their lives may still be cut short—after the Soviet has used them as witnesses against defendants accused for the first time in this trial—is suggested by the fact that Zinoviev and Kamenev, earlier conspirators, escaped death in their first trial only to be retried and executed last August.

Charges in the trial just ended included the organization of a counterrevolutionary movement, inspired by the exile Trotsky and depending for success upon involving Russia in a war with Germany and Japan. All this the defendants admitted. Skeptical persons maintain that the trial, like those that preceded it, was a farce; that the testimony was obtained after some form of coaxing. But why the Soviets should wish to confess before the world, so often, that its highest officials are continually plotting to overthrow the Stalin regime, remains a mystery.

# Along THE POTOMAC

The President's proposals affecting the Supreme Court are the topic of chief interest in Washington. Many stubborn problems confront the New Deal in its coming tests of power



PICTURES, INC.

# by RAYMOND CLAPPER

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S proposal to retire justices of the Supreme Court at seventy, or add new justices if they fail to retire at that age, was startling to most persons, even to many who presumed they were in the President's confidence. Yet it does not touch fundamentally the powers of the Supreme Court. No change in the Constitution is proposed. Mr. Roosevelt does not suggest curbing the Court's powers. There is no requirement of unanimous decisions on constitutional questions, or even two-thirds majorities. No restriction of appellate jurisdiction is asked, although many authorities believe it lies within the power of Congress to make such restrictions. The judicial veto remains unimpaired.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that his problem lies in the personnel of the court, rather than in the constitutional field. He believes that several of its members-one appointed a quarter of a century ago, another twenty years ago, and two fifteen years ago-are left over from a previous era and have refused to recognize a change in public sentiment regarding the proper sphere of governmental activity. He sees that some members of the Court, three or four in most instances, find that the Constitution is sufficiently broad to permit the federal government to deal with social and economic problems that confront it.

Theoretically, the laws of chance would in due course give Mr. Roosevelt an opportunity to replace the older members who have consistently refused to accept this broader view of constitutional power. But the President is impatient and seeks now to force their retirements immediately or, failing in that, to cancel out their influence by adding new justices. It is an expedient designed to speed up the turnover among members of the Supreme Court or to nullify their influence if they fail to retire at the age of 70.

This and other developments within the first weeks of President Roosevelt's second term demonstrate abundantly what I have been saying in recent months in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS: that it is the same old Roosevelt who sits in the White House. As I said in the December issue, Mr. Roosevelt still is the quarterback, fixed as to his objectives, flexible as to his methods of reaching them.

The President did not appear at his best in projecting his Supreme Two strong Senators, Robinson and Glass, smilingly disagree

Court proposal. He failed to prepare public sentiment, or even inform his own leaders in Congress. On the contrary, he made a point of keeping his plan secret and springing it as a bombshell. Those advisers who had worked with him on it were enjoined to secrecy. The President gave them to understand that he wanted no intimation given of his purpose. He desired to spring it as a surprise stroke. In this his love of dramatics betrayed him and provoked more opposition than if he had prepared the ground by developing public discussion in advance.

He permitted his own leaders in Congress to place themselves in a ridiculous light. As the Congress met in January, his Senate leader, Joseph T. Robinson, issued a carefully prepared statement declaring that the way to reach New Deal objectives was through constitutional amendment. He opposed any other course. Speaker Bankhead followed with a similar statement. Senator Robinson went on the air with an elaboration of his position. A day or two later Mr. Roosevelt delivered his



WIDE WORLD

The Senate's Judiciary Committee studies the President's plan. Seated, left, Borah, Ashurst, McCarran. Standing, Van Nuys, Burke, and Pittman

annual message in which he said that no constitutional amendment was necessary. Even then he gave no hint as to his purpose to force Supreme Court retirements.

Some days later Senator Minton of Indiana, a New Deal Democrat, conferred at length with the President concerning the Supreme Court problem and presumably thought he had some idea as to what the President desired. At any rate he returned to the Capitol and began organizing a group of friendly Senators. Senator Norris of Nebraska, who has earned the President's confidence if anyone has, also began organizing friendly Senators and others. The result of this activity was that a few hours before the President sent his message on the judiciary to Congress, the Minton group issued a public statement favoring a law which would require constitutional questions to be decided by a 7 to 2 vote of the Supreme Court. The Norris group called a conference for mid-March to consider a constitutional amendment.

The House majority leader, Representative Sam Rayburn, was given no inkling of the President's plan.

That does not seem to be the best way, in a democratic government, for a President to develop his policies. After all, Congress is the legislative branch. The public was similarly uninformed. As a result, the President's proposal, while it carried the shock which he desired, caught everyone unawares and the first impact was unpleasant.

It is obvious that notwithstanding all the talk about an era of good feeling, Roosevelt's second term will be marked by the same bitterness which characterized his first. Numerous instances already testify to that.

Take the utilities question. Construction work on the vast projects in the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia River basin are nearing completion. The time has arrived for determining what policy the Government shall adopt in disposing of these huge blocks of power. It is a question of utmost concern both to the Government and to the utilities industry in general.

For a time a bitter conflict raged within the circle of presidential advisers. One group was strongly hostile to private utilities. This included Senator Norris, father of TVA, and David Lilienthal, member of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It believed that the utilities could not be trusted, that the Government should enter into no truce with them but should develop competing distribution facilities, use its electric power to encourage public ownership, particularly municipal ownership, and compel a complete surrender by private utilities to it.

A second group, considerably in the minority, was headed by Chairman Arthur E. Morgan of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This group wished to develop a working agreement with the utilities, to map out a division of territory, avoid duplication of facilities, and achieve an accord which would provide room for both public and private operation. Morgan expressed doubts as to the practical desirability of the Government overreaching itself in the electric power industry, and considered it wasteful to engage in a prolonged war through construction of rival distribution systems for the purpose of disciplining the utilities.

On September 30, late in the presidential campaign, Mr. Roosevelt called a conference of public and private utilities executives and experts. The immediate question was the renewal of a pooling arrangement between TVA and the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation. At that time the Administration seemed to lean toward an attempt to develop a coöperative working arrangement between the Government and the private utility industry. Then in December came the preliminary injunction against TVA, the result of a suit filed in May at the instance of nineteen utilities companies united in effort.

This injunction infuriated the Norris-Lilienthal group. It was charged that the utilities had broken an understanding that they would not press the suit. Wendell L. Willkie, head of Commonwealth and Southern, and several other participants in the White House conference said that no such understanding had existed. On the contrary, Willkie said that when such had been suggested, he flatly refused to consider it.

After the injunction was issued the Norris-Lilienthal group began pressing the President and the upshot was that the White House announced on January 26 that all pooling discussions were off. Senator Norris had won. From there on it was to be war with the entire utilities industry.

Thus it is plain that in such matters the President still sides with Senator Norris, and it is a fair inference that Norris' aggressive and belligerent attitude toward the utilities and large business generally is a dominant influence in the Administration. Although President Roosevelt does not think much of Supreme Court justices who are over seventy, he finds in Senator Norris, now approaching seventy-six, an adviser in whom he has much confidence.

#### BUSINESS, BEWARE

Another indication of the temper of the Administration toward business is seen in the current indignation of Chairman James M. Landis of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Of all of the New Deal agencies, SEC probably has been the most tactful. It has won an unexpected amount of coöperation in Wall Street. In fact, Landis fre-

quently has been criticized by some of the more impetuous New Dealers for his conciliatory attitude toward the business world. A most ardent New Dealer, and one of the authors of the securities and exchange legislation (and therefore much feared in the beginning), he has proceeded upon the theory that once the act was on the statute books the important thing was to win general acceptance of it, instead of making its operation so harsh and unreasonable that it would provoke a reaction jeopardizing its future.

Despite this attitude of reasonableness, Chairman Landis has become incensed at the efforts on the part of some corporations to obstruct through court action the functioning of SEC. Accordingly, after Federal Judge Julian W. Mack in New York recently upheld the legislation in a test case involving the Electric Bond and Share Company and requiring it to register under the law, Chairman Landis let go a broadside against concerns which had refused to register, and particularly against their lawyers.

He declared that lawyers had persuaded 80 percent of the holding companies not to register and to defy the Government. He said they brought more than sixty injunction suits against SEC in "an organized attempt to overwhelm the Government with legal obstructions and prevent enforcement of the act." Landis said that this legal advice had caused utilities companies heavy losses, for instance, because it prevented them from issuing new bonds to refund their indebtedness so that they were unable to reduce their heavy interest costs.

Landis is still in his thirties. He has been appointed dean of the Harvard Law School and will take up his new duties next fall. No official is held in higher regard by the President. Despite his forthcoming retirement, his attitude may be taken as a reflection of the temper of the Administration, which is all the more significant because it comes from one of the most moderate of the New Deal administrators.

There is little likelihood that his successor will be any more mild. Some expect that one of the most aggressive members of the commission, W. O. Douglas, will succeed to the chairmanship. If that should occur there will be good reason for those who have resisted SEC to shake in their boots. He would not be as patient as Landis has been.

Before this session of Congress is over the Administration is likely to propose further legislation to curb financial manipulation, with special emphasis upon investment trusts. Hearings already held by SEC have accumulated evidence bearing upon these devices, and an attempt to impose public regulation upon them will be based upon this material.

#### FEW NEW FACES

Despite the large number of resignations-the latest being that of Morris R. Cooke as Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration—few new personalities of significance have come into the Administration to replace them. In several instances ranks have been closed by promoting less spectacular subordinates. The fact is that the New Deal fervor which brought scores of eager young men like Tugwell, Berle, and Landis to Washington in 1933 has cooled off. Furthermore, the field was thoroughly picked over during the first two years of the New Deal.

In filling the long vacant post of Undersecretary of the Treasury, from which Thomas Jefferson Coolidge resigned nearly a year ago, Mr. Roosevelt selected a familiar figure, Prof. Roswell Magill of Columbia University, who intermittently has been a tax expert in the government service for years. His earliest work for the Treasury was as a tax expert in the drafting of the first Mellon post-war tax reduction bill. During the beginnings of the New Deal he was one of the Treasury's chief tax experts. Lately he had been practising as a tax consultant in New York. Magill, age 41, was preparing to go to Europe to advise Scandinavian governments in tax matters when the Administration sent up a distress call for him. As Undersecretary his work will be less with taxes than with supervising the Treasury's bond and short term credit issues.

### LABOR ISSUES

President Roosevelt has many stubborn problems—neutrality legislation, reorganization of the executive machinery, management of credit controls so as to prevent undue inflation, and improvement of relief administration. But none of his problems is more difficult than that created by the labor situation.

General opinion in Washington has from the start regarded the automobile strike as the forerunner of similar trouble in other basic industries, particularly steel and coal. In all of these John L. Lewis will be the key figure on the labor side. His first trial of strength was in the automobile strike. The United Mine Workers' contract with the bituminous operators is about to expire and sparring already has begun. Simultaneously C.I.O. organizers are busy

in the steel industry. Because of the close relationship between steel and coal the trouble may develop simultaneously on both fronts.

Lewis is in the position of having increased his strength within the labor movement while at the same time losing considerable public support. His truculent attitude toward the White House during the automobile strike-when he publicly called on President Roosevelt for help in his fight against General Motors, in return for labor's support during the presidential campaign-created much distrust of his leadership. Lewis and his United Mine Workers contributed more than \$500,000 to the Democratic presidential campaign.

Furthermore, Lewis and his followers have shown disturbing indifference to the new conciliatory machinery set up under the Wagner Labor Relations Act. This statute has not been wholly accepted by employers and during the crisis of the automobile strike a test was pending in the Supreme Court. Yet organized labor had fought to put this law on the statute books. It was designed to insure to labor the support and protection of the federal government in collective bargaining. Despite this, Lewis refused to ask the National Labor Relations Board to help labor in its fight for recognition by General Motors, launching instead the sit-down strikes to force direct action.

Lewis defended this course on the ground that not even the board could protect labor against unfair tactics, and that it was necessary for labor to take matters into its own hands. This attitude is being adopted more and more in the ranks of labor, which believes that in the sit-down strike it has a weapon far more effective than anything which the Government can give it. Labor's inclination to put chief trust in its own weapons is increased by the attitude of employers toward collective bargaining and toward the Wagner Act. Labor is fearful that by one means or another employers will circumvent the Wagner Act and deprive labor of its benefits.

During the first period of the New Deal, labor leaned upon the Government for help. Now it apparently feels that it is strong enough to fight its own battles. Having tasted the difficulties of obtaining action under Section 7a of the NIRA and subsequently under the old labor board, and witnessing the prolonged litigation arising out of most attempts to invoke the new Labor Relations Act, labor is impatient and almost scornful of the conciliatory processes of the government.

Spanish War Ballot

General Franco's rebels have taken their worst defeat, to date, in the Review of Reviews ballot on the Spanish civil war.

Spanish loyalists won in a virtual landslide. The total vote-score was: loyalists 1760; rebels 571. This is a ratio of roughly 3 to 1. There was, in addition, a "neutral" vote of 166.

Judging from letters, notes, and comments by voters, the American verdict is clean-cut. It favors the Spanish republic as against monarchy or fascism; it believes that Franco's rebels started the war last July; it dislikes the aerial bombing of Madrid; it is opposed to Hitler and to his ardent support of Franco. On the other hand, it heartily distrusts the numerous anarchists and few communists on the loyalist side; disapproves of anti-church atrocities which some of the loyalists have perpetrated.

Votes came from every state of the Union, and from Canada. All conceivable occupations were represented. Army and navy men tended to be pro-rebel. Clergymen appeared sympathetic to the "defensive" and "reforming" loyalists. In general, higher income-brackets were rather proloyalist; while many rebel votes came from lower income-brackets. Some American Catholics voted loyalist, just as some Catholic conservatives of Spain-notably in Basqueland-have supported the Spanish loyalist government on liberal and republican principles.

The "neutral" vote was surprisingly small. "Neutrals" disliked both camps equally, or pitied each side alike, some expressing hope and others despair. The voters' response was so instantaneous and coöperative that their verdict stands as a striking testimony of what John Q. Public believes, early in 1937.

In the Spanish Civil War between loyalists and rebels, my private sympathics are with—

BERELS

# Several SPAINS?

How to end the civil and international war in Spain—that is the question as guns roar and bombs burst. There follows a suggested plan

How to end the Spanish civil war?
That is the question confronting international diplomats and ideologists as they crowd round council tables, or gather in comfy cafes.

It has begun to appear as though conflicting sides-loyalists and rebels-are so evenly matched that neither can oust the other as the long struggle becomes increasingly dangerous for Spaniards and outsiders alike. True it is that General Franco's ill-paid mercenary contingents may mutiny; that liberals and radicals within the Spanish loyalist government may come to blows on points of doctrine. Or that highclass German and Italian militarists may turn the tide of battle against President Azana.

There have been suggestions of a Spanish national referendum to decide the issue, but the opposing sides are far too bellicose for that. Besides, there was a legal Spanish general-election early in 1936 which the loyalists won-hence the civil war. Kilkenny-cats do not make well-behaved voters. International aid to fighters could be kept from the Iberian Peninsula, but that would not decide the matter.

One solution there seems to be, and only one, as this is written in mid-February. It is simple—to divide up Spain. A little more than half the ill-fated country (total area: 190,000 square miles) is in the firm grip of Franco's rebel armies. It is roughly the western half of Spain, starting with the Tarifa district at the extreme southern tip, skirting Portugal, and running up unevenly to San Sebastian by the French It contains Seville, Tofrontier. ledo, Saragossa, some suburbs of Madrid, and bulges-out far eastward in the Spanish north. Across the Mediterranean Sea it controls Spanish Morocco, and in the Mediterranean it occupies the Balearic and Majorca islands. The rebelbossed Spanish population amounts to an approximate 12 million. The

rebels' provisional capital is at northern Burgos, and their Portuguese neighbor is more than sympathetic.

Loyalist Spain, the eastern liberal-radical half under the legal Spanish government, runs from east of Malaga up to the French frontier, two-thirds of which it skirts. It still holds Madrid, in the center of Spain, and the great seaport of Barcelona in the northeast. Its provisional capital is at east-coastal Valencia, whence the government officials moved from Madrid. (Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia are Spain's three largest cities.) The loyalist government holds safely the Spanish gold reserve of more than 2 billion pesetas-fourth largest national supply in the world. The population of the loyalist territory is roughly 16 million, for the more populous cities are in the east of Spain. The west is agricultural, backward, and rather sparsely populated.

Within the rebel area is a loyalist enclave, the Basque province on the Bay of Biscay, with its little capital at Bilbao. This section, however, is strongly Catholic and would probably come to terms with the rebels if given a semi-autonomous status within fascist West Spain. In the northeast corner of the loyalist area is semi-independent Catalonia, speaking a Frenchy dialect and governed by her own radical little parliament -a triple coalition of anarchists, socialists, and bourgeois. Catalonia, her highly industrial capital at Barcelona, her population 21/2 million, would like to be completely independent of rebel Spain and loyalist Spain alike. Of course she prefers East Spain, wishes a privileged autonomous position which would provide markets for her factory products.

An armistice could be called in the civil war. A West Spain and an East Spain could be set up, independent of one another, in the twin areas controlled by the rival armies. West Spain would be fascist, die-

# This is the German idea of Spanish fighters, in Berlin "Kladderadatsch"

hard, feudal; East Spain would tend toward liberal and radical governmental forms. By a curious coincidence those portions of Spain occupied by the rebel fighters are more or less conservative, while the territory retained by the loyalist government is strongly progressive in tendency. Hopeless wars have seen worse solutions.

Portugal stayed out when the various provinces were united into modern Spain. Yet Portugal is far more Spanish than "Spanish" Catalonia or "Spanish" Basqueland. The Portuguese population of 7 million, forming an independent republic the size of Indiana, gets along well enough in its detachment and has always done so. Portugal owns nearly a million square miles of colonies, with 9 million colonials.

If a Portugal, why not a West Spain and an East Spain? Surely the lives of the Spanish people—shelled, slaughtered, diseased—are worth more to humanity than any bombastic "unity" of the Spanish national state. Caesar's Gaul was divided into three parts—the Iberian Peninsula next?



Here are two separate states: rebel Spain striped; loyalist Spain white

# Reds ON TRIAL

Old Bolshevism is dead or in jail, but mostly dead as Stalin and his followers crack down on the out-of-date radicals who threatened Russia

THOSE SOVIET conspiracy trials of mid-1936 and early 1937 have been as baffling as any political aspect of the current era. There are a few basic precepts to remember: that the followers of Stalin, who dominate Russia, are home-abiding moderate pinks; while the disciples of Trotsky, the men who have been on trial, represent the reckless international revolutionary element.

State-capitalist Russia has rapidly been going bourgeois all along the line: bond issues, steeply graded wages, religious toleration, new 1936 constitution, Xmas trees, Easter eggs, alliance with France, League of Nations membership, etc. International paid-propaganda has been discontinued, in favor of internal reconstruction and standard nationalism. All this was anathema to Trotsky followers, who clung to high-pressure Old Bolshevism and far-flung trouble-making.

Most of the surviving Old Bolsheviks were implicated in the Trotsky conspiracy: Kamenev, Zinoviev, Radek, Piatakov, Sokolnikov, Tomsky, J. A. Livschitz, many others; former cabinet ministers, ambassadors, high state functionaries, even the man who executed the Czarroyal family in 1918. Kamenev was Trotsky's brother-in-law; Zinoviev was once chairman of the Third International; Radek was called the world's most brilliant journalist as he scribbled for Izvestia. (Trotsky, Stalin's mortal foe, is in Mexican exile—the pair were bitter rivals after Lenin's death in 1924.) Stalin's following are mostly newer, younger men; administrators rather than agitators.

The Trotsky gang—accused of internal sabotage—seems to have had traitorous connections with Germany and Japan. Many of us have long believed that the nazis were intriguing in Russia with lethal intent. But we thought that their Russian allies were Czarist whites; never did we suspect that nazis were making friends with Trotsky ultra-reds.

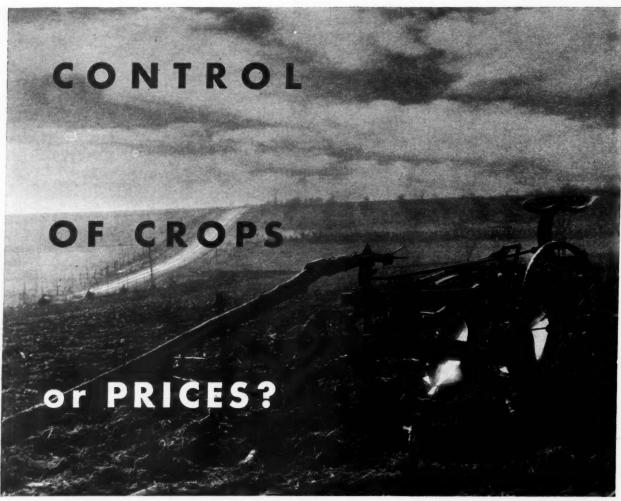
Hitler has been telling the world that he is the arch-opponent of "Jewish" Bolshevism; meanwhile he seems to have been working under cover with the most radical wing of communism—Trotsky's group—which was largely composed of Jews. Stalin's moderates, whom Hitler seeks to overthrow, are for the greater part Gentile. How sincere is brutal nazi antisemitism?

It all reminds one of the French revolution, when radical Jacobins destroyed one another by the guillotine route, and were in turn destroyed, checkmated, and overthrown by the moderate Directory of 1795. Trotsky is a modern Jacobin, Stalin a man of the Directory; red to a very pale pink. In fact, Stalin is turning himself into a Napoleonic dictator, just as Bonaparte rose through the Directory to his dictatorship of 1799. History repeats. In Russia, as in France, radicals have the ideals; moderates have common-sense.

But what accounts for the dramatic, childish confessions which have distinguished the Russian trials? Why should men doomed to die turn such devastating state's evidence against themselves and their associates? Have all the martyred conspirators really been executed? Or have some of them been secretly reprieved and jailed in out of the way spots in return for their colorful testimony, which has whipped up the Russian people by radio and press? It is barely possible, for instance, that Kamenev and Zinoviev are somewhere still alive; although it is rather unlikely. That plots have existed to murder Stalin and his henchmen, and to speed Jap-German invasion, appears certain enough. Stalinite Russia has the jitters, and with sufficient reason as this is written. Stalin's pal, Kirov, actually was assassinated late in 1934.

Impersonal communist unity, based on Marxian philosophy, is fading more and more into the background; the personal leadership of Stalin comes increasingly to the fore.

MARCH 1937



Permanent legislation, embodying some of the features of the defunct AAA, is the first item in agriculture's program by W. I. DRUMMOND

THEN THE Agricultural Adjustment Administration was set up the understanding in Congress and throughout the country was that it would be a temporary agency, to serve only during the acute farm emergency then prevailing. That was in June, 1933. American consumers had used up three crops, or as much of them as they needed, at prices that spelled ruin for the producer. They had been eating bread made from 38-cent wheat, pork from 4cent-a-pound hogs, beef from 5-centa-pound steers, and wearing clothes made from 7-cent cotton.

Regardless of the economic faults and the unconstitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, it is generally conceded that the benefit payments made to farmers under it were justified. Consumers were merely paying what they should have paid when they made their purchases.

It was a practical if clumsy application of the principle of "equality for agriculture", long the slogan of the farm organizations. It was the largest single factor in restoring agriculture to a state of comparative well-being, and preventing abandonment of ordinarily self-supporting farm territory.

With the passing of the agricultural crisis and the invalidation of the AAA by the Supreme Court, it seemed that this whole program would be abandoned. But the enactment of the supplementary Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act in the spring of 1936, with its provisions for paying farmers for turning parts of their cultivated fields to grass and soil-building cover crops, substituted another method of continuing the principles of the AAA. It is a cumbersome and unsatisfactory way of doing this, but it was the best its advocates and administrators could devise at the time. That they are not satisfied with it is shown by their present drive to bring about legislation reënacting the basic features of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, in a permanent form which will get it past the Supreme Court.

It is significant that this drive

comes at a time when the reason for the enactment of the original AAA legislation no longer exists. Farm prices now are substantially at "parity." The explanation is simple and clear. Nothing is more certain than that remunerative prices shortly result in further surpluses and repeated periods of agricultural distress. There is abundant justification for taking measures to prevent these recurring crises. Many farm leaders can see no solution other than government controlled production.

The underlying principle of the AAA was this same theory of production control. The objective was to stabilize farm prices at fair levels. It was realized that such control could not be enforced legally unless based upon voluntary contracts, so the benefit payment plan was devised as a means of inducing farmers to enter into contracts to reduce

their plantings. The Supreme Court held that the procurement of contracts by that method was illegal. The advocates of production control know that farmers cannot be induced to cut their acreage unless paid to do so. The voluntary method has been tried many times, always with complete failure. Benefit payments admittedly are a necessary corollary of control.

#### GOVERNMENT CONTROL, OF COURSE

Since there is no way to get money for making benefit payments other than through the taxing power of the Government, and no other authority to administer the program, this new agricultural policy necessarily becomes a Government-controlled affair. The farm organizations can and will exert great influence in the formation of the plan, but once it is adopted its administration will be wholly out of their hands. In his address to the American Farm Bureau Federation at Pasadena on December 9, 1936, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace said:

"The welfare of the farmers and of the nation will require that the farmers again have power equal to that which they once had under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and of which they were deprived last January 6 by the decision of the majority of the Supreme Court. The only thing that will permit them to meet the situation will be real, effective power to balance their production with demand."

But the farmers had no such power, nor any power, under the AAA. The Government had all the power. Those who supply the money for an enterprise usually do control its policies and operation. The Government is no exception.

Differences of opinion as to plans and procedure should not be permitted to hide the fact that a settled farm policy is needed, and that one will be adopted in the near future. Agriculture is the dominant economic factor in our national life. Until it is established on an equitable and secure footing, permanent national prosperity is impossible.

Low prices have caused immeasurably more farm distress than have crop failures. Every man whose land is the only means of support for his family works in the shadow of a constant fear; not so much that he will fail to make a crop, but that he will get little for it. He is the only worker who does not know what he will receive for his labor, the only manufacturer who must guess at what his output will be and what his product will sell for.

Yet agriculture is the base of the national economic pyramid. If there

be any who consider that their business or vocation is so far removed from the soil as to be unaffected by the vicissitudes of those who cultivate it, they should better inform themselves. There is no such business or vocation.

Since the cost of any adjustment program must be paid by the consumers and taxpayers, and in view of the fact that a mistaken policy might react disastrously upon everybody, all citizens have a right to take a hand in determining what the permanent national agricultural policy shall be. An obligation rests upon them to do so. This is the time to inquire closely into the merits of production control, and to ascertain where a policy based upon that principle might lead.

The impossibility of accurately gauging the yield of any crop at planting time is the best established fact related to farming. The weakness of any production-control plan is that it cannot assure the people of enough to eat and wear if the curtailment is sufficient to guarantee that the producers will receive fair prices. The AAA demonstrated that production can be reduced, but its operations only added to the existing proof that it cannot be controlled. It is now apparent that if the AAA had been in operation long enough to have removed the surpluses when the recent droughts struck, we would be facing a serious food shortage.

#### CONTROL OF PRODUCTION?

Secretary Wallace's ever-normalgranary plan is calculated to provide reserves for use in case of crop failure, but here again we run into the known factor that the existence of surplus or reserves (no matter where located or under whose control) depresses prices. Those who did not believe this were convinced by the Farm Board experience, which cost the taxpayers \$300,000,000 according to the Senate committee report.

The volume of demand for farm products, and the prices that can be paid, depend largely upon employment and wages among consumers. Agriculture itself provides part of that employment. Statistics are not available showing how many people are engaged in transporting, handling, processing, distributing and marketing farm products, but the number is very large. When production is curtailed, proportionate unemployment results in all those lines, on the farms also.

It is contended that production should be held to domestic requirements until export markets for agricultural products can be recovered. But what good would foreign demand do us if we had nothing to sell at the moment? Could we tell our customers that we would get busy and raise something for them next year? They might not need it next year. Unless we have something to sell, we will have no incentive to recapture or develop outside markets.

Aside from its illegality, the AAA scheme of production control could not be operated permanently, because it caught consumers coming and going. They paid in processing taxes for the restriction of production, and they paid the increased prices resulting from such restriction. That was all right in 1933 and 1934, but how could they be expected to stand for it after the farmers got on their feet?

#### CONTROL OF PRICE?

A far better way would be to allocate to each bona fide farmer his ratable part of a product required for domestic consumption, and see that he got a reasonable price for his allotment. Any excess production should be at the grower's risk as to price. In the event of large surplus the price might go so low as to call for a considerable guaranty fund, but consumers would gain far more through reduced living costs than they would pay into that fund. Consumers could afford to pay for having prices lowered. Under the AAA they paid for having them raised.

Under the plan suggested in the preceding paragraph, the American farmer would have the American market at American prices. He would retain his independence. It would permit the normal operation of the national agricultural plant, provide reasonable surplus for export, insure plenty for everybody, and furnish employment for a great many people who, under the proposed system, would be jobless.

Such swollen payments as were made under the AAA could be avoided by limiting each quota or allotment to the capacity of the family-sized farm. This would be in line with the principles of the original Homestead Act. It would contribute to a proper balance of population, and the more equitable distribution of the national income.

Given a fair opportunity, the one-family farm is the most independent and the nearest self-sustaining economic unit. As a social ingredient it probably is unequalled. But it cannot exist in the face of unfair competition. Agriculture cannot prosper as the only unprotected industry. Protection against imported competing products is not enough. There should be protection against such things as do not constantly threaten and afflict our other industries and occupations.

# BOOTLEG COAL

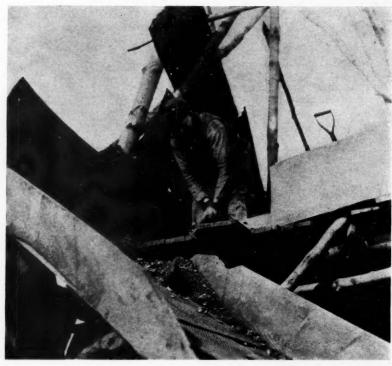
ONE of the most amazing developments in American industry is Pennsylvania's "bootleg coal" problem. Terming it "the greatest conflict between moral and legal rights in the history of the Commonwealth", Governor George H. Earle, just returned from a tour of his state's hard coal fields, is struggling to find some solution. He has learned that coal bootlegging, more than a mere moral and legal controversy, is only one phase of an economic transformation threatening the state's greatest natural resource industry.

A little over a year ago, Pennsylvania's leading hard coal operators, pointing out that 4,000,000 tons of anthracite was being filched from their lands each year by unhired miners, asked the Governor to call out the state police and the national guard to chase the poachers off. Earle, a Democrat, refused, claiming to lack authority for such action unless local officials demanded aid.

He recognized, however, that the problem was reaching a crisis. The practice of stealing coal from company lands has developed into a \$32,000,000-a-year industry affording employment to approximately 20,000 persons. Aside from the moral question raised by bootlegging activities, 150 unhired miners were killed by cave-ins or gas in their makeshift coal holes during 1936. Public safety often has been endangered in the anthracite region by unauthorized diggings in the vicinity of highways and railroads.

Poverty similar to that existing in the depressed coal areas of South Wales prevails in the "ghost towns" of the anthracite belt of east-central Pennsylvania; and Earle, who calls himself an "economic liberal", set out to see conditions at first hand.

In Shamokin, hardest hit town in the coal belt, the Governor was told that one-third of the population is on direct relief and that 45 percent of the unemployed miners are receiving some form of public assistance. In other towns he found the situation nearly as bad, with most of the unhired miners on relief and attempt-



ACME

Inspecting bootleg coal miners at work on rickety shafts, Pennsylvania's Governor Earle ponders, asks inquiry board

BY SYLVAN LEBOW

ing to supplement their meager emergency food allowance of 31 cents a day per person by bootlegging coal.

Earle asked representative citizens of the coal towns what should be done, and learned that in the anthracite communities coal stealing is regarded as a respectable business. Ministers condone it, stating that the men have to do something to keep themselves and their families from going hungry. Merchants told the Governor that they depend on the bootleggers for their livelihood. Bankers complained that speculation, and over production and distribution of the product were the real causes of suffering in the area.

Coal bootlegging originated from the company custom of permitting miners to glean coal from dirt banks to heat their homes. During the depression, unemployed miners began to sell this coal. The demand increased. Sizing of the raw coal in crude breakers was started. Truckers formed an alliance with the bootleggers. Outside capital was invested in larger breakers and fleets of trucks, and the business developed into a major industry.

The Governor believes that the coal business itself is sick, that bootlegging is merely a blister on the surface of a greater ill, that the underlying cause is technological unemployment. Charts prepared for Earle by the Pennsylvania Department of Mines show that in the southern coal belt, the Pottsville region, 26 of 50 collieries are idle. In the middle-western district, the Mahanoy City-Shenandoah region, 29 of 65 mines are not working; and in the northern fields more than half of the properties are shut down.

Seven large corporations control 85 percent of the state's anthracite production. Estates and corporations, in which holding companies speculate according to sales of anthracite, refuse to lease their abandoned lands to other operators.

Facing the monopoly over a product found in large quantities only in a small area of Pennsylvania, minor operators have been forced into financial difficulties. Efforts of many to reorganize under federal bankruptcy laws have been thwarted by landlords who push sales from their own busy collieries.

At Lincoln, a former company town, scores of makeshift coal holes are worked by grimy miners in the shadow of the abandoned Lincoln colliery. This plant, owned by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron company, was shut down six years ago. It put out the highest grade of red ash coal, known as Lincoln coal, bringing \$1 more a ton than other grades.

Men working in the Lincoln shafts are better off than most bootleggers in the hard coal fields. They turn out a fair grade of coal, selling it to truckers at \$5.50 a ton. The average price for run-of-mine coal is \$3.25 a ton, or \$5 a ton graded. Few bootleg miners net more than one ton a day. They have no drills, chopping coal out instead with primitive tools. Furthermore, they must keep draining water from the mines.

In the Shamokin area, it is claimed, the practice of the working collieries is to mix their good coal with an inferior grade and sell it as Grade A. Father M. M. Hassett, of St. Edward's Catholic church, urged the Governor to press for legislation grading all coal sold.

Bootleggers have nothing to fear from police. Public sympathy in the area is all on the side of the bootleggers. Politicians cater to them. The bootlegger is regarded as a respectable citizen, a child of the depression fighting hard to make a place for himself. In the few cases where there have been convictions, the bootleggers enter the front door of the jail, are given a hot meal, and step out the back door.

They are organized into a union, the Independent Miners and Truckers association. At word that company police plan to blow in bootleg shafts, a general alarm is sounded, and several hundred "independents" hurry to the scene.

Governor Earle asked conferees whether they believed that bootlegging should be ended by force. Nearly all agreed that sending in troops would result in bloodshed, that when the "army" departed, the men would return to bootlegging. In addition, maintenance of troops in coal fields and the added burden of relief would cost the state a huge sum.

The Governor regards the controversy as a social and economic problem which must be solved by remedial legislation. As his first step to end coal bootlegging, Governor Earle recommended appointment by the state legislature of a five-man commission representing all interests involved. The legislature, controlled by Democrats, granted an appropriation of \$50,000. The commission must report its recommendations prior to the end of the session.

This commission is to: investigate the financial setup of the major coalproducing corporations; see whether the state, by means of bond issues or other devices, could gain control of idle coal fields and rent them to independent operators; determine whether the federal government could be induced to offer the companies a "fair price" for their abandoned lands, so that a number of unemployed miners can be returned to legitimate employment; learn whether companies will lease idle land to private operators.

To date, such negotiations as the latter have failed. The companies have made no official statement, other than that asking Earle for police protection. But they are renewing efforts to gain aid from the courts. Bootleggers were somewhat worried by a "test" case pending in the Northumberland County court at Sunbury. The Susquehanna Collieries company succeeded in getting out a preliminary blanket injunction restraining 18 specific bootleggers and "any others" from trespassing on their coal lands in the county. Approximately 400 bootleg miners are still working in 100 coal holes.

Pressure has been brought to bear on Earle by the State of New York. Governor Herbert Lehman of that state requested the extradition of two Shamokin truckers to stand trial for hauling bootleg coal into New York, but the request was ignored. New York interests object to the 400,000 tons of Pennsylvania bootleg anthracite sold in New York illegally each year.

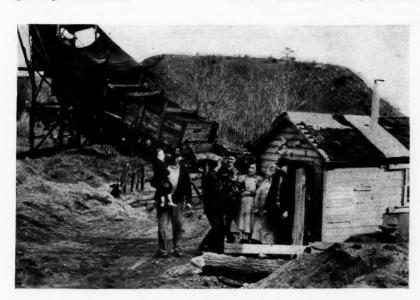
Earle has indicated his belief in some form of federal or state control, like that exercised over the utilities, as the solution. Some time ago he suggested "nationalization" of the industry, but he did not give any definite program.

Operators are likely to oppose vigorously any governmental effort to break up their monopoly. Impartial observers have answered their protest to this form of action by stating that it is not without precedent, that in Pennsylvania the milk industry is controlled by a state board.

Some suggestions were made at the Governor's hearings to help the mining companies. Reduction of local real estate taxes and freight rates for anthracite was urged. A federal loan of \$200,000,000 for the purpose of promoting sale of anthracite in out-of-state markets, such as the Great Lakes region, also was suggested. Increase of gas and oil for heating has eaten deeply into the coal companies' market.

Proposals that the mine operators make efforts to equalize the working time and open up their abandoned collieries bring only smiles from company owners.

"We lost \$10,000,000 last year," they reply. "Where is the money coming from to do all this?"



"This is my home, that my daily work, and these my family"

# Pied Pipers, INC.



AM. CYANAMID CO.

Gas can kill, but kill for man's good

Not everything brave and beautiful survives. Where the bison perished, the bedbug now prospers. Where the red elk roamed, the brown rat grows plump and numerous. On a terrain that man himself has chosen for the life-struggle, crawling insects, destructive rodents, and other pests now swarm in countless billions. They contaminate food, destroy goods, and endanger life itself. The appalling fertility of destructive pests has given rise to a new profession—the scientific exterminator.

The emergence of this new science was imperative, for the abundance and shelter of modern life are so favorable to rodents and vermin that they would remorselessly engulf us unless scientific control measures were employed.

Our pest-control operator must be a combination of entomologist, chemist, and sanitary engineer. Many states require that he be licensed. Rodents and vermin would remorselessly engulf us unless scientific control-measures were employed BY HENRY MORTON ROBINSON

In California he is obliged to answer 268 technical questions before he becomes a full-fledged exterminator. Cleveland demands an examination and a bond. In New York City the pest-control operator must comply with stringent municipal regulations.

Researches, carried on at Department of Agriculture experimental stations and several universities (Purdue and Baylor, for example) enable the exterminator to study the habits and mental quirks of the creatures to be destroyed. Toxicology supplies him with a knowledge of deadly salts and lethal gases. Thus armed, the pest-control operator goes forth to wage war against the diminutive enemies of man.

Chief among these enemies is the rat. Carrying bubonic plague, paratyphoid, trichinosis, Brill's fever and hydrophobia, rats have killed more human beings than all the wars since Christ! Last year their curved incisors destroyed \$200,000,000 worth of property in the United States, according to James Silver, of the Department of Agriculture.

Rats cannot be seduced by obvious poisons, carelessly prepared. The metallic flavor of arsenic, for instance, quickly warns the rat of danger, and after a single sniff he leaves the bait untouched. A veteran exterminator tells me that in every tribe there is an official taster. This gifted rat approaches the bait, assays its nature, and samples it. If it contains poison, the death of this tasterrat serves as a warning to his fellows against that type of lure. Apparently, too, rats build up immunity against many toxic substances. No single poison remains effective long. You must alternate baits and poisons, and cross them constantly.

Chemists long sought a poison fatal to rodents but harmless to other animals. This poison was found in powdered red squill, a Mediterranean bulb which is a powerful emetic. Rodents have a one-way throat; they can swallow, but cannot regurgitate. Other animals who take red squill can relieve themselves by vomiting, while the rat dies a horrible death. But after a couple of bad experiences rats become suspicious and will not touch food contaminated by squill.

Your lethal bait must do more than kill the rat-it must get him out of the house. Strychnine, for example, hits the rat with a terrific impact; but he dies in convulsions before he can reach the outer air. Bacteriologists have always dreamed of killing rats by introducing a virulent disease germ into their food. "If we could find some virus peculiar to rats," reasoned the investigators, "we could wipe out the whole race in one epidemic." After many experiments such a disease organism was found; it is called the Danysz bacillus. But since this bacillus is allied with the germs that cause food-poisoning, great risk attaches to its use. A pig, for example, might eat a rat killed by the Danysz bacillus and thus contaminate his own flesh. The danger has been considered so great to human beings that the Department of Agriculture warns farmers against this bacillus.

In wide use today is calcium cyanide, which, like liquid cyanide, releases the deadly hydrocyanic acid gas. Calcium cyanide is an atmospheric-nitrogen product, made by an electro-chemical process. The FERA killed more than 1,000,000 rats with it in a six-acre tract in Indianapolis.

The standard poisons now used by exterminators are barium carbonate and thallium sulphate. Barium carbonate is a heavy white mineral salt, tasteless, inexpensive, and cumulative in action. The rat eats his fill before he suspects the worst, then desperately seeks the outer air. Thallium, a deadly bane, is similar in its results. In the hands of amateurs these drugs are fearfully dangerous. They should be used only by rodent-control experts.

How about that hoary old device, the rat-trap? The way of a rat with a trap is one of the marvels of animal psychology. A foxy old rat will either ignore the trap or diligently set about solving it. Exterminators have watched through peep-holes and seen rats experiment with spring devices. A favorite method is to knock the trap against a wall until the trigger is released, then devour the bait. Old grandfather rats have been observed giving demonstrations of trap-springing to youngsters, with the result that rats rarely get caught in traps set by amateurs. In expert hands, however, a well-baited, skilfully placed trap will do excellent work. To obtain maximum results, exterminators set several traps simultaneously, maintaining that rats often vanish from quarters where they are treated with inhospitality.

The proboscis of Cimex leticularis, the bedbug, is one of the most efficient instruments ever designed for cutting tissue and sucking blood. Householders who place pans of kerosene under the legs of their bedthus thinking to stymie little Cimex -sadly undervalue his intellect. Balked by the kerosene, he climbs up the wall, finds a place on the ceiling directly over his prey, and parachutes down to dinner. He can fast for months if necessary, become parchment-thin, yet still be able to go to work. Harsh things have been said about the germs that the bedbug carries on his proboscis, yet it has never been clinically proved that he is a

conveyor of disease.

But the bedbug's role of tormentor, and his tremendous fertility, are reason enough why he should be vanquished. So now exterminators gas him with hydrocyanic gas, which kills every living thing that inhales it; in three states it is the legal means of executing convicts. Fumigators rarely use cyanide without donning a gas mask, and in the hands of the layman it may be suicidal. Cyanide has high penetrating power and seeps through cracks and crevices, wafting murder on its breath. Formerly, liquid cyanide was mixed in open vessels from which the deadly fumes arose, but the recent invention of Zyklon Discoids has supplanted the older "pot method". Discoids are round pieces of cardboard placed in cylindrical tin cans; liquid cyanide is poured into the cans and absorbed by the cardboard disks. Then the can is sealed until its contents are to be used.

I watched a fumigator while he prepared a house prior to "shooting the gas". First he sealed all the doors and windows with gummed paper. Then—after hanging warning notices outside the house—he



AM. CYANAMID CO

#### Amiable, but to rats, a bit difficult

donned a gas mask, and worked down from the top floor to the cellar. Into every room he scaled cyanide-generating disks and quickly shut the door. (Sometimes tear-gas is mixed with the cyanide to warn neighbors or intruders of the presence of this deadly gas.) On leaving the house he sealed the door from the outside, took off his gas mask and stood guard for six hours, allowing no one to enter. Meanwhile every bedbug, roach, and rat in the house was being destroyed.

Donning his gas mask again the fumigator re-entered the house, destroyed the discoids, and opened the windows. It was a precise, methodical performance—and a superbly effective one, because no living thing could survive that drench of lethal gas. Strangely enough, hydrocyanic gas is harmless to anything that is not alive. It will leave no trace in a glass of water. Fruit and candy are often gassed with cyanide for worms, and large flour mills fumigated for weevils. For fumigating an ordinary dwelling-house a reputable exterminator usually charges from seven to twelve dollars.

Professional exterminators run into some weird problems, but usually manage to solve them neatly. The facade of a cathedral was being desecrated by pigeons. The bishop didn't want the pigeons exterminated; he merely wanted them discouraged. A pest-control operator figured out that if he poured a gluey substance on

the gutters of the cathedral, the pigeons would roost elsewhere. It worked.

Last spring several keystone snakes escaped from the apartment of a zoo official; the zoo man was away, so the exterminator had to act. Not wishing to kill rare reptiles he placed some warm milk in a saucer and added a few grains of a powerful sedative. The snakes drank the milk, grew drowsy, and were easily bagged. Using only a length of garden hose, one ingenious exterminator vanquished a horde of destructive red squirrels lodged in a hollow tree on a semi-rural estate. He fitted one end of the hose over the exhaust of his automobile, then introduced the other end into the tree. Five minutes' worth of carbon monoxide, and the squirrels were dead.

Supervised by the U.S. Biological Survey, anti-rat campaigns have been vigorously prosecuted in Tacoma, Minneapolis, Louisville, Shreveport, New Orleans, and Baltimore. In these cities the rodents were multiplying too rapidly, food was being contaminated and much property destroyed. Whole armies of rats were trapped and poisoned, but more important yet were the permanent preventive measures taken. City dumps and garbage heaps were cleaned up and sanitary systems of sewage disposal were devised. Docks, mills, private homes, and offices were "serviced" by the exterminators, then billed at cost. The work was done by men on WPA relief rolls, under professional supervision.

But sporadic campaigns, no matter how successful, are not the answer to the rodent-vermin problem. All pest-control experts, private or governmental, agree that 100 million rats (the U.S. has an estimated rat population of 125 million, or one to every human inhabitant) would perish in a year if man would re-design his buildings on rat-proof patterns. For the rat, like a human being, needs shelter in which to breed and rear its young; when such shelter is denied the rat cannot multiply. Therefore the use of concrete and steel in foundations (or wood covered with galvanized sheet-metal) is strongly recommended by the Department of Agriculture in Farmers Bulletin No. 1638. Wire mesh should protect all cellar windows; there must be no "dead spaces" between walls, where the rat may nest or store food.

Rat-proof construction may be more expensive in the beginning, but it is shrewd economy in the end. Not until rat-proofing becomes the regular practice, not until we decide to thwart the rat in its quest for food and shelter, will this ruthless enemy of man be truly controlled.

# and TAXES

Taxation, the people's chief business, is still in a process of evolution, with the painless method yet to be found . . . by CLAUDE NELSON

AXATION did not always mean handing over a certain amount of money, or even of valuables, to the authority which we term broadly the state. It does not necessarily mean that today. The first contribution donated by men-and, at a later date, the first required of men-was their labor. They had joined voluntarily to perfect defenses, and later, in a more highly developed civilization, they were compelled by their state to contribute their labor, either in ordinary work or in military service. For those who could pay in whatever sort of money was used, there was, of course, no labor requirement.

There were poor men then as well as now; so most men paid their taxes in labor. And in the United States today the farmer is generally permitted to work out a portion of his local taxes in labor on roads. This is, indeed, a custom throughout the whole world. Continental Europe exacts a period of military service from each of its men—the pristine contribution to common defense. Germany has worked out a system of direct labor contribution.

One of the earliest solutions to the problem of "labor taxes" was evolved by the Athenians. The suggestion was made that public funds be raised to buy slaves, who in turn would be used to work silver mines, the product of which would go to the purchase of more slaves. Eventually enough slaves would be acquired to maintain a certain amount of wealth in the public treasury.

Slaves were throughout the world the general answer to what is primarily the purpose of taxes-the accomplishment of the ordinary community labor. The social aspect of the state at that time was largely confined to organizing the community into an effective defense mechanism. Somewhat that same position held over into feudal days, when the nobility exacted so many days' work in each week from the serfs who populated the land. Freemen paid their taxes in the form of military service. Small merchants contributed their share in direct assessments of gold and silver and goods.

The theory that each man should voluntarily contribute to the upkeep of the community originated in the misty ages when each gave a share of his labor to the common defense. With the growth of central authority and the creation of the state as such, the power to exact labor and money taxes evolved. And since that time that power has been variously abused.

No one can say exactly where the abuse of the taxing power begins, where justification ends. Obviously, when taxes become exorbitant and generally confiscatory, when the central authority is interlarded with graft and misuse of public funds, there is abuse of the taxing power. But the honest extent to which a state may go in its upholding of the social welfare can never be precisely determined. Fifteen years ago our present Social Security Act might have been admitted in principle; very improbable, however, would have been its enactment in its present form. That, according to business, would have been utter abuse of the taxing power.

#### ABUSE OF POWER

It was an abuse of the taxing power that led to the Declaration of Independence by the American Colonies. "No taxation without representation" was the Boston Tea Party protest against unjust levying of taxes. But the Stamp Tax and the various others incident to the Revolution were rather far along in our tax history. Before that had come a formulation of tax theories according to economic conditions in the various colonies.

In New Amsterdam, which shortly became New York, there developed a system of excise taxes—indirect taxes on trade. The Dutch were neither aristocratic nor democratic; they were essentially traders and business men. They wanted no poll taxes, no real property taxes, no indirect taxes on imports and exports. Being business men, they believed that these indirect excise taxes could be transferred to the ultimate con-

sumer by the addition of the tax to the price of the product. In this manner business thought itself relatively free of any tax burden. Present tax theory questions this belief because the piling-up of any heavy tax burden on a commodity automatically cuts down its sales, and thus cuts down the profits from its manufacture and handling.

To the north of New Amsterdam lay the New England colonies. Their development had been democratic. There were many landowners, and the distribution of property was fairly equitable. Hence, taxes were levied on the gross produce of the land. In its refinements such a tax made allowance for the relative fertility of the earth. Uncultivated areas were taxed according to their estimated yield if worked. This in time grew into a tax on real property, and then into a general property tax. There was also a poll tax.

One of the most interesting of New England taxes was called the "faculty" tax, the ancestor of the income tax. This was laid on town artisans and others who lived by their exertions with little investment in real property. They had been touched but lightly by any tax on property. Their inclusion as "taxables" marked an attempt not only to broaden the tax base, but to tax persons as distinct from things.

In contrast to the democratic North, the southern colonies had aristocratic tendencies. Their ruling class, large landowners, had little love for any tax on the land. Nor, again, did they look favorably on a poll tax, since that must inevitably have been levied on their slavesand paid by their owners. So the South evolved import and export duties, which were largely passed on to the poorer consumers. With the gaining of independence by the colonies, and the adoption of the present Constitution, the southern states surrendered their right to levy import and export duties to the federal government. Forced to adopt another method of taxation which would not lay the whole burden on a property tax, they seized upon the "faculty," or ability, tax. That tax, now employed generally throughout the whole United States, still furnishes a good share of the revenues of some southern states.

In the West today the general property tax is still widely used and is largely based on real estate. In the North, with its great business structure, the general property tax has been increasingly superseded by taxes on capital and corporations. The licensing system—the "faculty"

tax-is not strong. These various methods of taxation had begun their spread even at the time of the Revolution. But their contribution directly to the financing of the Revolution was not material. For that purpose the colonies issued their own state bonds, and with the success of the struggle came the problem of the payment of these bonds. The problem of maintenance of the federal government also appeared. Hamilton, a staunch advocate of a strong central government, proposed that the federal government should take over these bonds from the states, guaranteeing their payment. To gain the necessary funds to carry out this plan, and to provide a continual income for the federal government, he worked out his policy of an internal revenue. That policy was backed by the Federalist party.

But Hamilton's policy was later abandoned in the face of the onslaught of the Republican party of that time. In 1817 all federal internal revenue taxes were abolished. Only the necessity of paying for the War of 1812 had kept them.

The chief cause in the United States for the increase of old taxes and the development of new ones has always been war. The Revolutionary War stimulated the birth of the internal revenue system; the War of 1812 forced a temporary return to it. The Mexican War was not serious enough to bring any difficulty in raising funds. But the Civil War, a drawn-out, wearing struggle, brought to a head the problem of maintaining a strong central government. The internal revenue system was made again a part of the fiscal policy of the country. The Spanish War, spreading out more internal revenue taxes, brought consideration of an income-tax amendment to the Constitution. The World War, of course, marked the greatest increase in rate and number of taxes that the country had ever known.

The last seven years, however,

have witnessed a new phenomenon in the history of American taxation. The depression has seen an increase in taxes to a point where they fall little short of those which would be levied in a major war. And because of new laws which seek to maintain a certain standard of common welfare, many of these taxes cannot be dropped—the tax on payrolls for the Social Security Act, to name the most prominent example.

#### EARLY TAXES

The first compulsory taxes (direct assessments of labor or money) were usually spasmodic, being levied with little thought of steady income, although the Romans worked out a successful but inequitable means of tax collection. One of the earliest forms of a constant tax was the sales tax, which is mentioned in Egyptian history. Rome, under Augustus, tried a 1 percent sales tax for army maintenance. But it was so bitterly opposed by the people that Tiberius, in the year 17 A.D., cut it in half. Later, however, he restored it to 1 percent, and then jumped it to 2 percent. Caligula, finding feeling against the tax still strong, abandoned it. Yet the tax, under a new name, was once again reëstablished, and once again abolished.

In the Middle Ages the feudal lords tried the sales tax, but found it strongly resisted. Louis XI of France tried, in 1465, a 5 percent sales tax on articles sold at wholesale. Abolished shortly, it was again attempted in 1485. Special taxes on particular commodities and necessities were common. In France the taxes on beverage sales and on salt persisted to the French Revolution, but any attempts to levy a general sales tax-and many were madealways met with violent opposition. One of the first acts of the Convention of the French Revolution was to abolish all sales taxes. And yet one of the major tax sources in France today is what is termed l'impot sur le chiffre d'affaires-the turnover or sales tax, which, not itemized for the benefit of the consumer, remains virtually hidden from him.

The kingdom of Naples tried the sales tax in the fifteenth century, but it was soon abandoned. In Spain, however, the sales tax came into its own. Levied first in the local communes, it was made a national tax in 1342. Named the alcavala, it was begun at 1 percent but in time was jumped first to 5 and then to 10 percent tax on all sales. It hit the poor terrifically hard, particularly in any sale of their lands. Large estates, usually being entailed, seldom came under the tax. Even the German Empire, in the seventeenth and eight-

eenth centuries, developed a general excise on the sale of nearly everything, in an effort to reach the rich tax evaders. England under Pitt made a cursory attempt at a sales tax during the French wars.

Discussions of the sales tax have been widespread in recent years, and an increasing number of countries are adopting it. France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia have employed this tax in Europe. The sales tax which Canada enacted is not general, since it exempts most of the necessities of the workingman. In our own country, although there is no general sales tax, there are direct federal levies on special commodities, such as gasoline, cigarettes, and playing cards. In 1932 only five of the American states levied a sales tax, but at the present time twenty-four, or half of them, have adopted it.

Largest single contributor to the revenues of our country, the income tax in 1936 yielded approximately 40 percent of the total federal revenue. Its history dates back certainly as far as the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Florentine state inaugurated it. Although the rates fixed sometimes ran as high as 50 percent, the tax was made a political toy and was unsuccessful.

England's income tax was given its start by Pitt during the French wars (when the English tried the sales tax also). The first measure was called the Triple Assessment tax, since it tripled the former low assessments and quintupled the former high. Pitt claimed that it was a tax on general expenditure, but it was the direct ancestor of the income tax.

#### STOPPAGE AT SOURCE

In 1803 a new income-tax law was passed which brought into being one of the present primary principles of the current income tax in Englandthe theory of "stoppage-at-source". Establishing a rate of 5 percent, this new law provided that the tax on incomes should be withdrawn at the source from which they originated. It provided both an easier means of collection and a more painless extraction of money from the income recipient. The Act of 1806, broadening the tax by lessening exemptions, made more stringent requirements for reporting income based on dividends and interest. At first relatively unsuccessful, this income-tax law became a heavy revenue producer. But, because of a promise made by the government, the tax was dropped at the end of the war in 1816.

In 1842, during the industrial rev-

olution, Peel reintroduced the income tax in much the same form as that of 1806. It was again highly productive of revenue, although various attempts were made to abolish it. By 1862 it was one of the most strongly entrenched forms of English taxation, and has remained so.

Prussia, in 1820, had a form of income tax known as the class tax. The people were classified as to wealth and social position, and taxed accordingly. By 1873 a highly graduated tax (with forty grades) was set up, but in 1891 it was superseded entirely by a revised income tax.

France discussed the income tax in 1848, but not until 1872 was there any measure of success in achieving one. Even then it was confined to a 3 percent tax on interest and dividends. In 1909, however, a genuine income tax of 3 to 4 percent, with numerous exemptions, was levied.

Italy, still a new nation, tried the income tax in 1864, basing it much on the British system of stoppage-at-source. It did not apply to income from real estate rentals. In 1894 the tax had already risen to rates ranging from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 20 percent, with various exemptions. It was never especially successful.

Our income tax in the United States has one of the oldest records, dating back to the "faculty" tax levied by the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1646, which assessed the "returns and gains" of "manual persons and artists". The colonies of New Haven, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey adopted the tax in the next few years; but the colony of New Amsterdam, shortly to be New York, depended on its Dutch excise taxes. In the succeeding century many of the developing states enacted similar tax laws. The tax was then essentially one on profits, though it occasionally became little more than a poll tax or occupational tax.

#### CIVIL WAR TAXES

A federal income tax was first discussed in 1815, but with the abolishment of all internal revenue taxes in 1817 further consideration was impossible. The Civil War again brought it to the fore. The Act of 1861 provided for an income taxbut under the term of income "duty". The subterfuge was adopted to bring the measure within the limits of the Constitution, which provided that all direct taxes must be levied by the Calling the tax a "duty", the Civil War statesmen reasoned, would make it an indirect tax and constitutional. The Act of 1861 never went into effect since it was almost immediately succeeded by the Act of 1862, which made levies of

from 3 to 5 percent on incomes over \$600. The principle of stoppage-atsource was used where possible. Later measures removed the principle of graduation and lowered the rate. After several battles over its continuance, it expired by limitation in 1872.

#### INCOME TAX LAW

In 1894 another income tax with a five-year limitation was passed. This included a corporation netprofits tax. But the Supreme Court, by a five-to-four decision, threw it out almost immediately as a direct tax which belonged to the states. The Spanish War brought consideration of an income tax amendment to the Constitution, but it was not until 1909 that the movement gained way. By 1913 both the Sixteenth Amendment—giving Congress the power to tax incomes without apportionment among the states-and a measure applying the tax were in effect. The first rates were moderate, with a 1 percent normal tax and surtaxes of from 1 to 6 percent on higher incomes. During the World War the maximum tax, which had been 7 percent in 1913, rose to 77 percent.

Post-war prosperity lowered income tax rates considerably. Secretary Mellon advised rates not in excess of 25 percent on the basis, not of exempting the rich from heavy taxes, but of gaining the greatest yield for the Treasury. Mr. Mellon's point was that there would be considerably less tax evasion, through investment in tax-exempt securities, were the rates of income tax low enough to permit capital to seek taxable means of profit.

The modern American income tax has been levied primarily on higher incomes. European income taxes, on the other hand, have gained their revenues from a broad tax levied heavily on lower income groups, though higher incomes are by no means neglected. Yet the fact remains that the United States, with the relative narrowness of its income tax base, realizes a greater percentage of revenue from the income tax than any other country, with the possible exception of England. The explanation is that a far greater number of Americans are in the higher income brackets than are citizens of any other country.

#### PRESENT LEVIES

That, indeed, is exceedingly fortunate for the American family man who earns, at present, less than \$2500 a year. He pays no income tax. But the married Italian without dependants, who earned the equivalent of only \$2,000, paid ap-

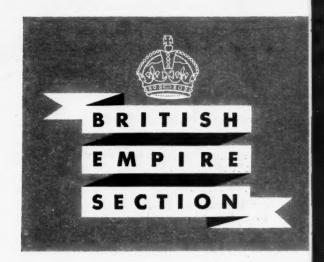
proximately \$392 in income tax alone, to say nothing of a 1 percent sales tax and an infinite variety of excise taxes. The Italian, who earned only \$1,000, paid out nearly one-fifth of the sum in income tax. The \$2000-a-year man in Belgium paid \$107; the Frenchman, \$174; the Englishman, \$67. With the recent rearmament programs of these countries there has been little possibility of any reduction in taxes.

In Germany, for example, the report just issued by the Reichskredit Gesellschaft, a bank owned wholly by the German government, states that one-quarter of the German national income goes to the government in taxes. Estimates for Italy are essentially the same. But lest the average American become complacent about the financial health of his own free institutions, he had best be reminded that all governmental expenditures in 1933 were figured to be 281/2 percent of the national in-The added burden of relief expenditures, however, was placed not on taxes, which accounted for only 16.7 of the national income, but on public borrowing. In 1935 total governmental expenditures had decreased only 2 percent, but the per capita public debt of Americans had climbed to \$376.24.

#### TAXES TO COME

To bring about a balance, new taxes will certainly be proposed. Thinking up new forms of taxation is the most popular indoor sport of politicians, both amateur and professional. The last few years have seen the game played with such fervor that those best informed now believe that tax legislation which will actually get passed, in distinction from what may be proposed, will be concerned chiefly with revising the new types of taxes recently enacted. There may be revisions in the taxes on capital gains and the graduated tax on corporate surpluses in order to make them more efficient and more equitable.

It is not likely that they will be repealed. The sales tax movement may have reached its peak and turn out to have been in reality an emergency measure. It has been abandoned in two states already. Manufacturers, however, are advocating a general sales tax on all manufactured products to replace the specific taxes on gasoline, sporting goods, motor cars and so forth. But this proposal runs counter to the apparent general principles of federal taxation. And it is more probable that tax legislation, for the next year or so at any rate, will be devoted to the digestive process rather than to the pursuit of new game.



# The Crown

THE BRITISH are supposed to be an unemotional people. But in the Merrie Month of May they will surrender themselves with one heart and voice to eleven weeks of gorgeous festivity. There will be a coronation in Westminster Abbey, with processions and prayers—and a glittering display of regalia, jewels, and robes, both civil and ecclesiastical. There will be the clang of bells, boom of guns, flare of rockets, flaming bonfires and the acclaim of millions. Streets will be decorated according to color schemes arranged by architects and, in the evenings, the towers and spires along the skyline of the historic river Thames will be floodlighted into a fairyland of silvery loveliness.

Wherever the Union Jack flies, there will be celebrations. But one great pageant has had to be postponed. Bar accidents, by which is meant a grave international complication, their majesties George VI and Elizabeth might have proceeded, as did his parents, to a Durbar at Delhi, there to receive the allegiance of the princes and peoples of India this at a moment when the federation of India is coming into actual being. The plan has been cancelled for the time being and with it any idea that the king and queen might have been the first reigning sovereigns to tour the dominions.

The prolonged pageantries, Byzantine in their magnificence, the mobilization of press, radio, and screen in a vast campaign of publicity, the activity of commercial interests that profit by such an expenditure of money on a great national holiday, represent much more on this occasion than a traditional symbolism. They are a challenge to destiny, and that challenge is threefold. It is constitutional, imperial, international.

Even to the British themselves this throne is a mystery. In form it is a personal autocracy. In fact it is an institution under popular control. At long intervals a democratic people emphasises the fact.

Acting for the nation, Cromwell beheaded Charles II in 1649, and William of Orange in 1688 drove James II into exile. Acting for the nation, Stanley Baldwin as primeminister has replaced Edward VIII by George VI. The British are thus announcing that the monarchy has again survived a major operation. The old show still goes on.

It is made no less plain that the old show depends not on precedent, not on the hereditary principle, not on the divine right of kings. It is organized by the people themselves. The coronation thus ratifies an abdication—in effect a revolution—and an ancient throne emerges, in effect, as a modern republic.

They who read the annals of the British dynasty are impressed by the apparent influence of successive monarchs—Victoria and Edward VII especially—over the government of the day. The disappearance of Edward VIII obliterates this much exaggerated idea. The throne is too big for any man to manage. All he can hope to do is to sit upon it as well as he may.

Secondly, the monarchy, though shaken, still supplies a generally acceptable sovereignty over 500 million people—one-quarter of mankind. The subjects of King George VI are disintegrated in race, in religion, and in economics. But all of them are still his subjects. It has been shown that, in a matter so delicate and so fundamental as the succession to the throne, it is possible for the governments of the mother country and the dominions to act together. Even in

the case of the Irish Free State, the position is no more difficult than it was before the abdication.

Thirdly, the monarchy, thus upheld by the British Empire, represents a force as well as a faith. The sovereignty is an emblem of the stern discipline by which alone Britain and her far-flung sway can be preserved for future generations. This discipline was imposed on an elder brother and he fled for freedom. With King Richard II he can say "with mine own hands, I gave away my crown." A younger brother has accepted the discipline.

The nation over which George VI reigns is a nation on guard. It is a nation that any day may be subjected to conscription. It is a nation trained to wear the gasmask and take refuge in cellars so designed as to exclude poison in the air. Militarism in Europe knows that the guns firing their salutes for the king and queen are real guns, the troops lining the streets are real troops. An armed Britain flings her sword into the scale on the side of peace.

Of the ritual of the coronation, elaborately performed in Westminster Abbey, there are two appraisals. The first is that here we have a fascinating reminiscence of the Middle Ages, performed as a drama on a stage with the world seated in the stalls. The scene of the ceremony is described officially as "the theatre". This broadly appears to have been the view of Edward VIII. The other and more mystical idea is that the "solemnity", as it is called, should be regarded as a sacramental actuality, and this is the view that, by the accession of George VI, has prevailed.

The significance of a coronation, however complicated may be the details, is simple. Shouts of God Save the King announce that the sovereign

is accepted by the people. His oath binds him to govern according to the laws and customs of Parliament and to maintain the Church of England. Anointing by oil is his consecration to a sacred office. The presenting of spurs and girding with a sword endow the king with power at home and abroad. He is vested in robes of righteousness, he holds in his hand the orb of sway over territory, there is clasped around his wrist a bracelet of ability, he holds the scepters of justice and mercy, he wears a ring that weds him to his Empire, he receives a gift of the Bible. Thus dedicated to his duties, he is greeted by the homage of the peers, and finally he partakes of the communion, so receiving the grace of God.

The churches and especially the Episcopal church are issuing evangelistic appeals, and there is manifest a revival of faith of which the Oxford Groups provide one illustration. The spectacular liturgy in the abbey is associated with a Puritan revulsion against post-war excesses.

Responding to this movement, the monarchy has definitely abandoned the democratic secularism of Edward VIII and adopted an emphatically expressed conservatism, religious and social. Their majesties go to church and invite the clergy to Sandringham. They associate with the older and more steady-going aristocracy, to which by birth and upbringing the queen belongs. The smart set now is ostracised.

During his Silver Jubilee, George V described himself as "a very ordinary kind of a fellow". It is interesting to find it on record that, a dozen years before, his son, now George VI, applied this same phrase to himself. Give him a beard and the sixth George would resemble the fifth.

He is a man who has suffered from various handicaps, uncertain health and difficulty of speech among them. Incidentally, he is left-handed, at any rate, in certain games. But the bravery of his clan was shown under fire at the battle of Jutland, and there is no unreality about his work among boys. He has brought rich and poor boys into camp together for weeks every summer, and he has himself camped with them.

In Scotland the queen, as a descendent of Robert Bruce, is rapturously adored. During her earlier years of married life this daughter of the earl of Strathmore, born in the historic and mysterious castle of Glamis rendered famous by Shakespeare in *Macbeth*, so completely outshone her husband as "smiling duchess" that Queen Mary had to step in. The press learned that phrases like "the duchess of York accompanied by the duke" were not in order. Today Queen Elizabeth—



Their majesties George VI and Elizabeth, to be crowned at London in May

for years Edward playfully conceded to her this title—appears without the bang across her forehead which millions of girls imitated.

George VI is in his forty-second year. The hope is that he may reign at least as long as did his father. But the succession to the throne is a perennial problem. In a recent case that problem was a Prince of Wales. Today it is a princess.

Elizabeth of York, or Lilibet as she used to call herself, is just completing her eleventh year. Her sister Margaret Rose is six years old. When, therefore, the Princess Elizabeth ascends the throne, she will probably be leaving her thirties behind. At her accession she may well be older than her mother is today.

But that is not the whole story. This vivacious child, romping around gardens, losing her hair-slide under a sofa where her august grandfather, the king-emperor, was surprised one day in a search for it, playing in the model cottage given to her by the Welsh people as a birthday present and embracing her dogs, Dookie and Jane, is educated privately. The day will come not so many years hence when she will have to run the gauntlet of society, which includes matrimonial possibilities.

In the case of Queen Victoria, the choice of a prince-consort was restricted to royalty. In a House of Windsor that includes an earl of Harewood, husband of Princess Mary, the king's sister, and the queen herself who was not royal when she married, that limitation is no longer binding. Parliament has vetoed a marriage between Edward and a certain lady. Parliament will have

to be consulted over whatever marriage may be arranged for the heiress-apparent to the throne.

The process of sublimating the king and queen has been resumed in certain quarters. Within reason, such sublimation is essential to "the divinity that doth hedge" a monarch. But it is generally admitted that, prior to the abdication, the British press had created an atmosphere of courtier-like artificiality-not to use the stronger word, sycophancy—that was bound in the end to break into a hurricane of disillusion. The fact today is that their majesties, deservedly respected for domestic virtues and readiness to fulfil arduous duties, occupy place without power. There is no evidence that they are endowed with any save normal capacity. At the same time, their training and environment are a reasonable assurance that they will fulfil the functions of figureheads with dignity, sympathetic tact, and the punctuality which-sometimes forgotten by Edward-is the politeness of kings.

The Regency bill, passing through Parliament, throws a light on the new monarchy that has arisen in Britain. Not only does this measure provide that the duke of Gloucester is to be regent in the event of the king's death before Princess Elizabeth reaches the age of 18. It also provides that any three of six great personages may declare that the king's health is such that a regency is advisable. Such a safeguard suggests that the crown is regarded as a department of state with functions that, however formal, must not be interrupted.

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

# The Empire

NOT SINCE ROMAN times has there been such a glorious hodgepodge as the British Empire. It dots the seven seas, and the sun never sets on it. It contains some 500 million inhabitants of all creeds and colors, and covers approximately a quarter of the land area of the globe. In addition to this, Britannia rules the waves, or says she does.

At various times French Normandy, Gascony, and Calais and German Hanover and Heligoland formed portions of the British imperial realm, as did thirteen little colonies which turned themselves into the United States of America. Of the present Empire, Newfoundland was acquired in 1497, and certain German possessions were picked up as mandates in 1919. The British monarch called himself King of France, among other things, until 1802 when Napoleon talked George III out of it.

Today the backbone of the Empire is Anglo-Scotch, royal & loyal in most respects. But there are representatives of almost every other race embodied as imperial subjects: French in Quebec, Germans in Southwest Africa, Dutch in South Africa, Italians in Malta, Spaniards in Gibraltar, Russians in Alberta, Cyprus Greeks. And again, Chinese in Hongkong, Amerinds in Canada, Hindus in India, Mongols in Nepal, Negroes in Africa and the West Indies, Malays in the Straits Settlements, Yankee expatriates in London, Maoris in New Zealand, Black Fellows in Australia, Jews and Arabs in Palestine. And there are others, too numerous to mention.

When it comes to religions, British imperialists outdo imperial Rome at its wildest. England is officially Episcopalian; Scotland is officially Presbyterian; the Irish Free State is unofficially Catholic. So are French Quebec and the other Latinic colonies. India has the Hindu caste-system, plus Mohammedans, Parsees, Sikhs, Buddhists, and a swarm of lesser fry.

Christian Science and Buchmanism are exceedingly strong in England and certain dominions; the Germans and Dutch are Lutheran or Calvinist. There are many Anglo-Scotch atheists; also Indian theosophists and simple native animists, not to mention the weird Canadian Doukhobors. Quakerdom still prospers. "Culty" Hyde Park flourishes.

Social and political beliefs also vary widely. Australia and New Zealand are semi-socialistic; Alberta has a novel Social Credit government in office; the British Labor party comes to power now and again. Sir Oswald Mosley's blackshirt fascists storm about England, and semifascist "francists" are strong in French Quebec's governing circle. There are some nazis in Germanic Southwest Africa. The Dutch Boers and Gaelic Irish are anti-imperial nationalists, for the most part. In Palestine the Arabs are anti-semitic, as are the Mosley blackshirt boys. In

India the Gandhi independence movement is ultra-nationalist, antiimperial, and rather Tolstoyan. With their backs to the wall stand certain eternal Tories, who dislike De Valera, Gandhi, Hitler, Stalin, the Boers, and the Yankees almost equally. Scotch Glasgow with its Clydeside, meanwhile, is known as "red capital" of the British Empire; it is republican, and uninterested in royal jubilees and coronations. Over all reigns a tolerant, young, common-Caesar—the king-emperor sense George VI by grace of God.

The Empire has many populous cities: London 8 million; Glasgow 1 million; Birmingham 1 million; Sydney 1 million plus; Melbourne 1 million; Hongkong 1 million; Calcutta 11/2 million; Bombay 1 million. Liverpool, Manchester, and Montreal are close to a million. Singapore, strongest imperial naval base, has a population of 600,000. It is the Empire's eastern eye and mailed fist. Gandhi,



The Houses of Parliament on the Thames, with the Clock Tower and Big Ben

BRITISH

Japan, or Soviet China: please note. There are several types of political unit now within the British Empire. England and the dominions-Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State-are selfgoverning in all respects, and function as autonomous younger sisters rather than as colonies. Their semiindependent status is guaranteed by the 1931 Statute of Westminster. Of these, the Free State is the freest of all. It works as a republic within the Empire; the other dominions rank as kingdoms, with George VI as a universal king. Newfoundland held dominion status from 1855 to 1933, then came to financial grief and voluntarily lapsed into a crown-colony. The federal state of Western Australia has threatened secession from the Australian dominion. Aggregate white population of all the dominions is close to 24 million. Great Britain totals 46 million.

GREAT BRITAIN'S FAR-FLUNG EMPIRE

Wales     8,012     2,       Scotland     30,405     4,       Northern Ireland     5,237     1,       Isle of Man     227       Channel Islands     75	354,917 593,014 842,554 256,322 49,338 93,061 000,000 17,905 244,002 347,859
Wales     8,012     2,       Scotland     30,405     4,       Northern Ireland     5,237     1,       Isle of Man     227     227       Channel Islands     75     75       Irish Free State     26,592     3,	593,014 842,554 256,322 49,338 93,061 000,000 17,905 244,002
Scotland     30,405     4,       Northern Ireland     5,237     1,       Isle of Man     227       Channel Islands     75       Irish Free State     26,592     3,	842,554 256,322 49,338 93,061 000,000 17,905 244,002
Northern Ireland 5,237 I, Isle of Man 227 Channel Islands Irish Free State 26,592 3,	256,322 49,338 93,061 000,000 17,905 244,002
Isle of Man 227 Channel Islands 75 Irish Free State 26,592 3,	49,338 93,061 000,000 17,905 244,002
Channel Islands Irish Free State 26,592 3,	93,061 000,000 17,905 244,002
Irish Free State 26,592 3,	000,000 17,905 244,002
	17,905 244,002
	244,002
ASIA	
	399,880
Aden 80	50,809
Ceylon 25,332 5,3	306,871
	388,180
	270.043
Brunei 2,500	30,135
	500,000
	349,751
AFRICA	
	327,166
British South Africa 731,714 3,3	179,830
British East Africa 798,894 13,2	25,035
	235,428
Somaliland 68,000	44,700
British West Africa 499,211 24,9	63,316
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1,008,100 5,6	05,848
Seychelles Island 156	27,444
	93,238
NORTH AMERICA	
Canada 3,684,463 10,3	74,196
Newfoundland 42,734 2	71,685
Labrador 120,000	4,500
British Honduras 8,598	51,347
WEST INDIES	
	27,789
	59,828
	72,182
	50,667
Trinidad 1,862 3	86,712
SOUTH AMERICA	10.005
	10,933
Falkland Islands 5,618	3,101
AUSTRALASIA	
Australia 2,974,581 6,6	23,754
	76,128
New Guinea 91,000 3	96,958
	24,633
Oceania Islands 28,365 3	94,092

India has a special status as a sort of semi-dominion. Under her new constitution—the Government of India Act—there is to be a federated setup, with ordinary legislation in the hands of the Indians, but with finance, home-defense, and foreign affairs in charge of the British viceroy. There are 11 federal provinces, a special federal district at Delhi, and roughly 560 native states under Indian dynasts, each with its own local government; to be united in a parliamentary upper and lower house. India has 340 million inhabitants, with close to 220 spoken languages and a fiercely intermittent religious strife between Hindus and Mohammedans. Burma has been separated from India proper, and turned into a crown-colony.

Next in rank to the dominions come the imperial crown-colonies. These vary widely in the extent of selfgovernment granted them, with Malta,

> Southern Rhodesia, and Newfoundland approaching the closest to dominion status. More wellknown crown-colonies include Northern Rhodesia, Burma, Bermuda, Jamaica, Gibraltar, Ceylon, Hongkong, Singapore, Trinidad, and a host of others dotted here and there. In most of these the executive is responsible not to the colonial legislature, but instead to the British secretary of state for the colonies at London. Crowncolonies do not have memberships in the League of Nations at Geneva, as do England, the five dominions, and India.

There are, in addition, the protectorates of one kind or another. These are mostly native states and areas under British guidance or rule, depending upon local circumstances. inhabitants of these protectorates are not British citizens, whereas dominionaries and crown-colonists are included in the extensive imperial citizenship. Nigeria, Uganda, Zanzibar are specimens; most of the protectorates are situated in Africa. An important protector-

ate, however, is romantic Sarawakperhaps the most advanced of them all-in faraway Borneo. In the protectorate scheme of government, native chieftains and tribal customs are often utilized to imperial advantage.

Last of all come the World War mandates, former German colonies or Turkish dependencies taken over under League of Nations authorization in 1919. The British Empire received Palestine, German East Africa, German Southwest Africa, Western Samoa, German New Guinea, Arab Irak, and lesser bits. Irak has since become independent. The native inhabitants of these mandates are supposed to be "improved"; never are they to be "exploited"!

Outside the Empire, there are imperial allies, pals, and auxiliaries. They would include an independent Egypt, Portugal, Argentina, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark. Certain of these non-imperial lands are friendlier to the Empire than some of the dominions and crown-colonies. There are geographical, strategic, or economic reasons for their coöperation: something for something in all cases. Portugal and Egypt are on the naval and trade route to India, life-line of the Empire. Belgium is useful in Africa, as is Portugal. Holland comes in handy in the East Indies. Belgium and Holland, at home, protect the southeast seacoast of England across the Channel. Denmark furnishes dairy-products; Portugal exports wines; the Argentine sends beef, wheat, and dividends from British capital invested there. Egypt is extra-valuable to the imperial general-staff, and so it goes.

The water life-line of the Empire runs from England past western France, Spain, and Portugal, through the Gibraltar straits. Then along the Mediterranean Sea, through the Suez Canal, down the Red Sea along the African east-coast to Aden, and so into the Indian Ocean to rich and populous India, An alternative water-line to India, in case of international trouble, could go down the African west-coast, around the Cape of Good Hope, then up the African east-coast to the Indian Oceanskipping the Mediterranean Sea entirely. Mussolini nearly forced this second, alternate route by his Ethiopean war of 1935-36.

This, then, is the British Empire of 1937. Imperial Rome was held together by perhaps 200,000 legionaries. The British regular army is not much larger. Sentiment, goodgovernment, and lucrative economics furnish the strongest imperial links in this efficient, rather humanitarian Tower of Babel built around the Tower of London.

R. SHANDON

Tap, tap, tap is the music of this East Indian jeweler who sits at his primitive bench by the hour, shaping silver ornaments for his people

# Imperial Tower of Babel



Beneath jagged peaks near Capetown, South Africa, lies this memorial to Cecil Rhodes



Canadian French couple near Val Joubert, Quebec . . Democracy here prevails as both puff away contentedly . . but the head of the house wears the skirts



The trend in automotive design follows the Australian Kangaroo—the motor in the rear





Left—this South African warrior believes in "save the surface and you save all" Center—a foremost opal expert is this old German, now in the mines of Australia Right—a Coppermine Eskimo drilling bone with a bow..not..picking his teeth



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EWING GALLOWAY: LIONEL GREEN: CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS: AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION OFFICE: BLACK STAR

# John Bull & Sons

ROWN colonies, mandated territories, dominions, protectorates, lands under condominium, the United Kingdom-these are the British Empire. Pivot of this vast pile of economic power is England, which with Scotland and North Ireland constitutes the United Kingdom.

During the middle ages England, most accessible portion of the British Isles, established a good trade exporting raw materials and importing manufactured products. Later the emphasis was reversed, and British industry received its start through the necessity for home manufacture induced by the interruption of commerce as a result of frequent wars. That start, cradled in the homes of thousands of craftsmen, was swept, with the advent of the industrial revolution, into a mechanical progress thrusting Britain far to the fore among all nations. It transformed the country from a supplier of raw materials into a manufacturer for the entire world.

Even before this climaxing change, John Bull, developing the colonies he began to acquire, found that by furnishing his new domains with their manufactured goods he could skim the cream. This new demand exceeded the raw materials available in England. So the tables were turned; England converted raw materials from the colonies into finished articles for them. That situation has not changed.

Strangely enough, manufactured goods now form the least in value of Britain's exports. Foodstuffs, first in value, and raw materials or partly manufactured goods take precedence over manufactured goods. The explanation is that England has become the clearing house for a quarter of the world, that foods shipped to it are processed and redispatched, that raw materials find a world market in London.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries British "mercantilist" policy, growing out of the internal development of Britain itself, attempted to force the first colonies

to trade only with Britain. That policy was a failure, demonstrated in New England, because of the very independence of the British people in those colonies. Learning its lesson, Britain has granted, as the demand in each colony arose, and as that colony exhibited ability to govern itself, independence with the status of dominions to Canada, Newfoundland (voluntarily reverted to a crown colony in 1933), Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State. And because it conceded their autonomy or independence, Britain has kept much of their trade.

The anomaly here is that Britain has become increasingly dependent on the dominions, while the dominions have taken an increasingly smaller percentage of their imports from Britain.

In 1913 imports of the United Kingdom amounted to £768,700,000, of which £191,500,000, or 24.9 percent, derived from British colonies and dominions. By 1935 imports of the United Kingdom coming from countries under the British flag had increased to £284,866,000, or 37.6 percent of its total imports of £756,936,000.

Exports in 1913 were £634,800,000, with £208,900,000, or 32.9 percent going to British countries. In 1935 they were £481,186,000, with British countries taking £215,277,000 or

44.7 percent.

The point is that the dominions, while increasing their United Kingdom trade, have increased even more their trade with other countries. Of the United Kingdom's trade with the Empire, 51 percent was with the self-governing countries in 1913 while in 1934 60 percent was with those countries. Yet the dominions contain only 6.2 percent of the population under British rule.

Breaking down inter-British trade still farther, we find that in 1913 the United Kingdom did 40 percent of its total British trade with India, Ceylon, and British Malaya. By 1934 trade with those three colonies had

dropped to 24 percent, although they represent more than 75 percent of

British-ruled population.

India's opposition to British control served there to cause the decrease. Where the Lancashire mills of England a few years ago enjoyed a practical monopoly on Indian cotton goods imports, they now supply only the restricted higher quality market. In this industry the competition of Japan has turned the balance sheet of more than one Lancashire mill into a red peril. Imports of India from Japan now total one-third of her imports from the entire British Empire.

Despite this significant figure, the potential competition is not that of Japan but of the growing cotton weaving industry within India itself. The threat to British mills may be the more readily realized when one considers that in 1936 the United Kingdom had 41,391,000 spindles, active and idle, while India had only 9,705,000. Yet the mill consumption of cotton in India amounted to 2,550,000 bales, a fairly steady increase since 1927, in contrast to British 1936 mill consumption of only 2,846,000 bales with a downward trend. Japan, with 10,867,000 spindles, used 3,602,000 bales, outstripping all but the United States.

It is undoubtedly true that British capital has financed some of the mills in India, moving closer to the source of cotton supply, just as mills in the United States have moved from New England to the South. But it is also true that Indian capital, arousing itself from the apathy of too philosophical an existence, has invested heavily in an industry in which India has all the advantagesa close source of supply, cheap labor, and a vast immediate market. With these conditions it can undersell both Japan and England.

The Indian National Congress, promoting the drive for the independence of India and not so eager about British good will, recently denounced the Ottawa Trade Agreement of 1932. The agreement sought tv

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to facilitate trade among the dominions, British India, the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia, and the United Kingdom by formulating abstract policies and by making definite reductions in tariffs on goods of British origin.

That the agreement has stimulated inter-British trade is indicated by the 2.4 percent increase since the measure took effect. That increase partially canceled a decline of 5.5 percent (between 1913 and the average for 1929-33) in the trade of the self-governing countries with the United Kingdom. Canadian-British trade has jumped 10.1 percent.

But the colonies over a period of years—with the exception of India—have increased the percentage of their trade that is shared with the United Kingdom. In 1913 only 9.5 percent was with England, whereas in 1934 it amounted to 15.9 percent. It should be pointed out, however, that 1934 marked a decline from the peak years of 1929 to 1933, when the colonies transacted 20.5 percent of their business with Britain.

If predictions for the future can be made from the past, these colonies, wherever large enough to warrant such a step, will eventually be given some degree of autonomy. John Bull, wise business man, is not likely to break his policy. For the six years ending in 1934 he did more than a third of his external business with all his children, and sold more than two-fifths of his exports to them.

In 1934 that percentage of his exports to British customers was 46.9, and the value was £185,573,000. Only 4.4 percent of his exports went to the United States. Accompanying is a table showing percentages of imports and exports (excluding re-exports) from and to each other and the United States during 1934.

It will be noted from the next to the last line of this table that the United States sells to the dominions more than double the goods that the dominions themselves take from each other. Part of this predominance derives from the volume of business which Canada, leading the dominions in both exports and imports, does with the United States. American investments in Canada are greater than British; and since the two countries are adjacent it is not strange that their business relations should be close. Similarly Newfoundland does a large share of her business with the United States.

Although the United States provides more than a quarter of the dominions' imports and more than a tenth of the imports of the United Kingdom, in no case does it present a larger market for the exports of the empire than does Britain. Yet

Canada, Australia, and the Union of South Africa import more from the United States than they do from the British dominions.

The Irish Free State, despite its political fulminations against Great Britain, still finds the market of that country the outlet for 93 percent of its goods. Significant, indeed, is this figure, in view of the fact that Great Britain could easily draw on its other dominions and its colonies for what it imports from Ireland. Most of this is foodstuffs. The Irish Free State, on the other hand, might not so readily find new markets for its produce.

Britain imports much of its meats, fish, live animals for slaughter, butter, cheese, and eggs, and alcoholic beverages from the Irish Free State, nearby. Grain and milling products it takes from afar, chiefly from Canada although Australia, British India, and the Union of South Africa contribute. Imports which it gets from the Irish Free State it also obtains from Canada (its largest supplier of fish), from Australia, and from New Zealand, which exceeds all dominions in exports to Britain of dairy products and meat.

Canada, it appears from current statistics, is the largest supplier in the Empire for the United Kingdom. Estimates for the last fiscal year put the total of Canadian exports to Britain at £65,173,282, a sum bettered only by the £96,716,302 sent by the United States. Australia ranked third in sales to Britain.

In the foregoing summary of the derivation of Britain's supplies, the crown colonies, aside from India and Newfoundland, have not been mentioned. The dominions and British India, in 1935, sent Britain, of their domestic produce as distinguished

from re-exported goods, £206,044,000 of the £756,936,000 totaling British imports, or 27.2 percent. The colonies and protectorates in the same year shipped Britain just one-fifth as much, or £41,281,000 worth of goods. From mandated territories and territories under condominium, such as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, came £6,695,000 in goods.

The products of these colonies serve to create for the Empire a selfsufficiency of high degree. Rubber and tin from British Malaya, vanadium oxide from Northern Rhodesia, petroleum oils and tin from Hong Kong, cutch for dyeing and tanning from Sarawak, plantation rubber from Brunei, copper ore from Papua, birds' nests from North Borneo, asbestos from Cyprus and Southern Rhodesia, piassava fibre from Sierra Leone-these and thousands of other wants of today have their genesis of satisfaction in the cartographic dots, some small, some large, that constitute Britain's colonial Empire.

Today only three states in the world-Russia, the United States, the British Empire-approach selfsufficiency. Since the first two, selfcontained, find within their borders most of their supplies, the British Empire must be considered apart. When one glances at a globe of the world and searches out the reaches of the British flag, one must realize that it stands, in a larger sense, for more of a communal effort-strange though that term be to British capitalism-than is evident even in the Soviet Union. Welded together not by armored hulls or by bayonets, the British Empire represents a Commonwealth, not alone of Nations, but, what is more important, of peoples.

# CLYDE F. NEWSTRAND

#### PERCENT OF TRADE INSIDE BRITISH EMPIRE AND WITH U. S.

COUNTRY	FROM OR TO	UNITED KINGDOM	OTHER BRITISH COUNTRIES	UNITED STATES
CANADA	Imports	22.1	8.5	57.0
	Exports	41.5	9.8	33.9
AUSTRALIA	Imports	43.2	15.2	15.5
	Exports	52.3	10.3	2.7
NEW ZEALAND	Imports	50.4	23.4	11.9
	Exports	82.3	5.2	2.6
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	Imports	48.9	9.8	16.3
	Exports	41.1	14.9	2.5
IRISH FREE STATE	Imports	66.7	5.9	4.8
	Exports	93.4	1.3	0.7
NEWFOUNDLAND	Imports	24.3	40.3	29.6
	Exports	36.8	10.5	19.5
UNITED KINGDOM	Imports Exports		37.0 46.9	11.2 4.4
AVERAGE OF DOMINIONS	Imports	40.6	11.6	28.3
	Exports	52.5	9.3	16.7

# Sinews of Empire



East to West . . North to South . . the arms of Britain

go. Upper left—using crude machines, South African diamond prospectors sift out the stones from streams near Kimberly. Upper right—not of Mediterranean origin alone are dates; from the palms of central Australia they are also taken. Lower left—England's coal must England keep. . through Alberta's stores of black wealth a Canadian miner burrows. Lower right—stacking the cotton of India which will supply both local mills and those of England.

PUBLISHERS' PHOTO



EWING GALLOWAY



REVIEW OF REVIEWS







For your car and for your home are these: Upper left-through the Federated Malay States, in the midst of vast plantations, roam father and son, such as these, the elder notching the trees, that the rubber latex, savored so expertly by this shirt-tailed youngster, may be gathered in cups. Lower left-on a slight platform, built of only two crossbars, a native of South America cuts deep into a mahogany giant soon leaving the jungle of British Guiana. Discernible in the rear is the stump of a tree already dragged away.

And these that you may dine . . and well: Above-a Canadian fisher family dries cod over chicken-wire racks along the Fox River, near Gaspé, Quebec. Everybody works-including father, who also wears the wedding ring. The little girl is no novice at her task; a good wife she will someday make. Below-not Irish potatoes these, though on the Emerald Isle was this picture taken in the country of Landonderry. The scene shows the men who reap and bind the grain as it falls behind the clicking blades of the mower.



# England's Recovery

Great Britain has to face a supreme emergency in Europe. With a view to possible eventualities, she is re-arming on a vast scale of expenditure. Inevitably the world is taking stock of her economic resources.

The British are proud of their farflung empire. It is an immense conglomeration of territories that embraces 11,000,000 square miles and 500,000,000 people. But nobody supposes that an empire which is mainly Indian and African will save a mother country that is entirely European. In what really matters, the British know that—at any rate, in the first instance, which includes finance—they must depend on themselves.

This means that we have to drop all sentiment about flags flying above the seven seas and concentrate attention on a small and island country of only 94,000 square miles and 46,000,000 inhabitants. In cold economics, this country enjoys no special privileges. It has made and can make no economic arrangements, inside or outside the empire, that could not be made in all essentials, let us say, by Rumania within or outside the Little Entente, or by France and her allies in Europe, for instance, Poland.

The British know that they are up against it. But they are not downhearted. The League of Nations announces a measure of world-wide recovery from the depression. In that recovery, Britain participates. She is receiving larger dividends on her investments at home and abroad. She is earning a larger return on her shipping. Unemployment is so reduced as to be exceptional only in certain depressed areas, and while half the people are reported to be more or less under-nourished, this condition, according to the League of Nations, is general throughout the world.

It is such a prosperity that has to be analyzed and understood. Is it a genuine and healthy prosperity? Or are there reasons for misgiving? And what about the future? The broad answer is that if peace is preserved, if armaments are reduced, and if trade barriers throughout the world are broken down, the economic future of Britain is assured. Otherwise, who can say anything about economics anywhere? Such a major uncertainty makes everything uncertain.

Around estimates of British commerce there has accumulated a vast volume of statistics, graphs, percentages, descriptive impressions and propaganda which complicate and sometimes distort the essentials of the position. Values can only be reckoned in currencies and these currencies are elastic. They are changed by law and are subject to sudden fluctuations.

Out of the bewilderment a conclusion emerges. There is no doubt that Britain is producing and consuming an increased volume of goods and services. The question is whether she is enjoying this abundance as the result of accrued income or expenditure from capital. So crowded a country ought to depend largely on foreign trade. Yet even today this foreign trade, partly as a result of fallen prices, is seriously reduced.

Foreign trade has been affected by two revolutions in British finance. Both of them, it was hoped, would assist exports. Neither has fulfilled anticipations.

In September 1931, Britain abandoned the gold standard. This did not mean that she inflated her internal currency. Within Britain, the pound was as valuable as it had been before. But the value of the pound in foreign countries was reduced.

The immediate effect of such a measure is exhilarating. It penalizes imports. It stimulates exports. It is

at once an invisible tariff and an invisible subsidy. But there is this to be added: Deflating currencies is a game at which all nations can play. Any fiscal advantage accruing to Britain as a result of sacrificing sterling could only be temporary.

The United States has reduced the gold content of the dollar, and in September last the gold bloc of which France was the stronghold collapsed. The United States, France, and Britain have entered into an arrangement to stabilize their respective exchanges and this stabilization embraces many other countries. It means that sterling is again an equal among equals within an immense sterling-dollar-franc area of commercial activity.

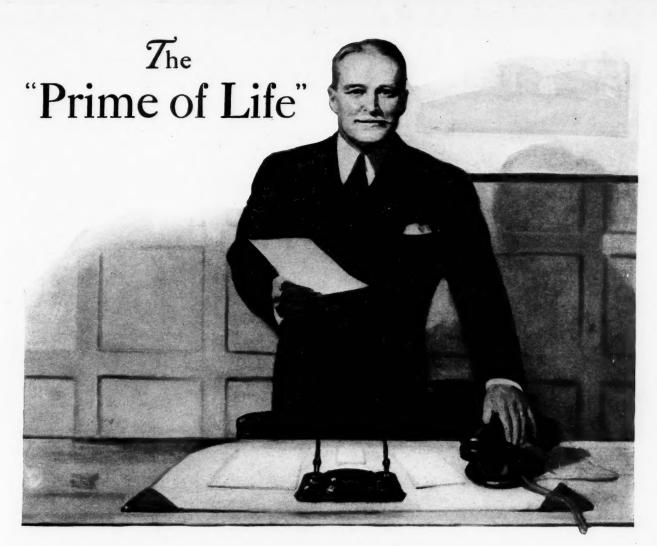
Secondly, Britain has abandoned free trade with all the world and has plunged into protection. She was moved by two reasons. Blockaded on every side by tariffs, quotas, exchange restrictions, and other commercial barriers, she feared what might happen to her balance of trade and so decided to limit imports. Also she was encouraged by certain wishful—and indeed pushful—thinking on the part of her imperialists.

Lord Beaverbrook, the Anglo-Canadian financier and owner of newspapers, has been among those who pointed out that the Empire might be a world in itself. They proposed a lucid plan whereby there would be free trade within the Empire, like the free trade between the 48 states of the Union, and an imperial tariff which would tend to exclude the rest of the world. The Empire would supply Britain with food and raw materials. Britain would pay for these by exports of manufactures.

In 1932, an Imperial Economic Conference was held at Ottawa and with disillusioning results. The Dominions were quite willing to import their products into Britain. But they

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS



OU may have read that the average length of life has risen from 49 to more than 60 years since the beginning of the century. You may not know that the greater part of this extension in the length of life from birth is due to gains in mortality at the younger ages. For those who have passed 40, conditions are much the same as they were.

The period from 40 to 60 years should be the "prime of life" when mental powers are high. The majority of the deaths which occur in this period are caused by chronic diseases of the heart and arteries, Bright's disease, cerebral hemorrhage, cancer or diabetes. Of these, heart disease is responsible for more deaths than any other cause.

While your doctor will not offer any medicine to soften brittle arteries, or to rebuild your heart, he can do a great deal to help you to lengthen your own life. He can do what you can't—he can, almost literally, look inside your body.



With the fluoroscope and X-ray, with chemical and other function tests he can observe your vital organs in action and can tell you their strength or weakness.

Unselfish men and women who give all they can to their families or their work, and people who are ambitious to reach a certain goal often neglect their health. Chronic invalids are more likely to seek medical advice and to follow it faithfully than are vigorous men and women who scoff at being coddled, and who often race past physical danger signs.

A great scientist said recently, "We know how to lengthen the lives of our children. We must learn how to persuade men and women past 40 to get the benefit of what modern science can do for people of their age."

To everyone interested in prolonging life, the Metropolitan will gladly send its booklet, "Taking Your Bearings." Address Booklet Dept. 337-V.

Keep Healthy - Be Examined Regularly

#### METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

Frederick H. Ecker, Chairman of the Board  $\sim$  One Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.  $\sim$  Leroy A. Lincoln, President

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MARCH 1937

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vetoed any idea of putting British manufactures on the free list. The desired federation of the Empire vanished like a dream.

Great Britain was thus left without free trade, either with the world or with her Empire, and she is now anxious to work her way back to some kind of commercial liberty. Within the Empire there are certain limited preferential tariffs. Beyond the Empire Mr. Runciman, the British President of the Board of Trade, has played the part of a Secretary Hull and negotiated some two dozen trade treaties with foreign countries. It was in order to discuss the possibility of such a treaty that Mr. Runciman recently visited President Roosevelt.

These various abatements of tariffs are good so far as they go. But they are of minor economic significance. Nearly half of Britain's trade is within the Empire and there has been a perceptible increase in that proportion. But it is the total volume of trade that matters to Britain, and she is faced by the fact that foreign countries, especially in Europe, are not so much unwilling to buy her goods as unable to pay for them. Britain declines any longer to "finance" her exports—that is, to give them away.

We have to realize, therefore, that the prosperity of Britain is not to be attributed in the main to her foreign trade. It is due to the development of and reliance on internal resources. The question is how far she is pledging her credit.

First, there has been an enormous expenditure of public money. The great tunnel under the River Mersey and the Cunard Liner Queen Mary are examples of such enterprise. Motor-roads have been laid. Railways have been improved and extended. Slums have been cleared and an immense population has been rehoused. Over the entire country there is spreading an "electric grid" for the distribution of current for domestic and industrial use.

Secondly, a protective tariff, when first adopted, creates work. Behind the tariff wall factories are built, and in England the "electric grid" has enabled the new industrialism to develop in the south in addition to the north. Oxford is now a Detroit where motor cars are made, and London has become a Manchester or Sheffield. The whole of this implies capital expenditure.

Thirdly, domestic consumption of goods has been maintained by a huge outlay every year on what the United States calls social security. The cost of pensions and insurance runs to \$1,500,000,000, and this expenditure has been invaluable as a safeguard against the tailspins of depression.

Social security—so often misrepresented as "the dole"—is actually the one element in the whole economy that is broadly a case of pay-as-yougo. The money is derived, not from capital, but from income.

The net result of all this is that industries dependent on exportcoal, cotton, wool, iron and steel, shipbuilding-declined, while industries that supply domestic demands -motor-cars, furniture, hosiery, and their distribution among the people showed an increase. In 1923 expanding industries employed 5,830,-000 workers. In 1935, the number was 7,930,000, an increase of 2,100,-000 or 36 percent. Declining industries showed a reduction of employment from 4,100,000 to 3,100,000, a loss of about 1,000,000 or 24 percent. Total employed had risen to 11,000,000, an increase of about 10 percent.

After the year 1935 the entire situation was, as it were, jacked-up by a huge expenditure on armaments. This expenditure was authorized just at the moment when the temporary prosperity due to abandoning the gold standard and adoption of tariffs was reaching its limit. Armaments mean that, behind the tariff wall, domestic production is assured for the time being of immediate consumption. This production consists largely of those heavy goods-iron and steel-which had suffered severely from loss of exports. In so far as Britain's prosperity depends on armaments, it cannot be regarded as reliably perma-

There are two acid tests to be applied to the general outlook. The first is the budget. The second is the balance of trade.

Apart from the new expenditure on armaments, the budget is balanced at 4 billion dollars. If armaments be included, there is a prospective deficit. Additional taxation is likely and a loan on a 5 year basis of \$2,000,000,000 is announced. Nor is this all. France is largely increasing her armaments. This means that France has to pile one deficit onto another and there is talk that Britain may have to lend a large sum, say \$200,000,000, to her ally. As the younger Pitt subsidized the Napoleonic war, so may it be that Britain will have to subsidize preparations for maintenance of peace.

The balance of trade has to be precisely defined. What payments does Britain receive from abroad? What payments does she have to make in return? Is she or is she not living within her income?

In the year 1936, British imports were \$4,160,000,000. Her exports were \$2,455,000,000. She had thus to face an unfavorable balance of

trade amounting to \$1,705,000,000. The explanation of this large figure is, in part, the demands of the armament industries which require raw materials but provide no corresponding manufactures to be sold in return.

Britain pays her excess bill for imports by means of what she calls her invisible income. This has to be, to some extent, estimated, and certain capital items—for instance, the purchase and sale of securities—have to be eliminated. The strict net invisible income is healthy enough in itself. It has increased. But it has not increased sufficiently to meet the unfavorable balance of trade. Reasonable figures are as follows: Interest on foreign in-

vestments.......\$850,000,000 Receipts from shipping..\$415,000,000 Commissions, etc......\$225,000,000

\$1,490,000,000

If this total be accepted, the balance of trade during 1936 was on the wrong side by \$215,000,000. In any event, it is safe to say that the usual surplus, for re-investment abroad, had been absorbed into the cost of rearmament. There is thus every reason why Britain should be insistent that the feverish orgy in armaments be brought to an end in Europe; and in the meantime, she wishes to broaden the basis of her commercial prosperity by enlarging her entrance into the markets of the new world.

The future offers two very different possibilities. The first is a general war in Europe in which Britain must expect to be a belligerent. The second is an appeasement which, if it is to be effective, must be constructive.

Reduced to economics, both of these eventualities mean a demand for British credit. Little as it is sometimes realised, disarmament like armament has to be financed. Swords cannot be turned into ploughshares unless there be capital expenditure for that purpose.

The manufacture of armaments is a major industry in Europe including Britain. Peace means that industrial machinery must be adapted to a different kind of production. Markets also have to be developed. Armaments are purchased by governments. An output alternative to armaments has to be absorbed by the community.

A displacement of labor must be expected. Youth, now mobilized by conscription, will have to be absorbed into civil employment. Many workers now employed on armaments must also be drafted into new jobs. The whole of this economic revolution would put a strain on credit and especially on the credit of a lending country like Britain.

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# If You Go to England

RELAXING A LITTLE on a wet Saturday, I have just now been reading a detective story. The scene is laid in the city of Bath, England, famous for its curative waters ever since the Romans developed its thermal springs. The book is delightfully written and most accurate in its allusions to the place itself—its wide curving streets of a century ago, its lingering atmosphere of Beau Brummel's spacious times, and its well-preserved remains of Roman architecture.

Many years ago I spent a week in Bath, under conditions that could hardly have been more agreeable and inviting. I have since then been in England a good many times, but it happens that I have never re-visited that famous "spa". Yet no allusion to Bath in my reading of books or current news has ever failed to give me a quick thrill of pleasure because of that visit, in company with many Englishmen, some of them already famous veterans of scholarship and science, while others (among them George Bernard Shaw) gave promise of the recognition that was yet to

Soon after the death of George V on January 21, 1936, it was decided to celebrate the accession of a new sovereign on some date in May, 1937. When a British King is dead, the heir to the throne succeeds in the full sense without a moment's interval. But the British people care for the historic formalities. They cherish the pomp and ceremony with which their unbroken traditions have surrounded the institution of royalty. Accordingly, plans were made for a coronation season that would lend something of a festival character throughout Great Britain not merely to the fixed date of May 12, but to the entire year 1937.

When in December the so-called crisis arose that affected the status of King Edward VIII, there was dismay for many reasons, not the least of which had to do with plans for the coronation. With the young George

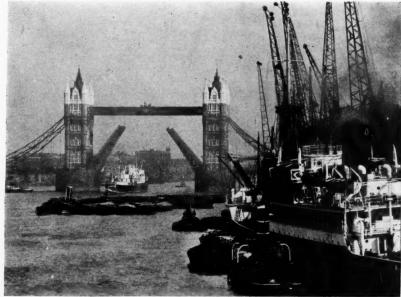
succeeding his brother on December 11 there were deep regrets, but also there was profound relief in the accomplished fact of an harmonious transition. It was at once determined to give redoubled effort to make the coronation memorable. The date of May 12 was unchanged. George VI was to be crowned, and so was his admired and popular Queen Elizabeth.

By far the greater number of Americans who are planning vacation trips abroad will not be able to go as early as May. Far be it from us to advise them against traveling this year in continental Europe or in any other direction. Most of them will have made their plans already, with sufficient reasons of their own. Large numbers have specific objects of study or investigation. More students than ever will go abroad this year, under guidance and with excellent itineraries. These comments are not meant for the globe-trotters, who speak of "ferrying across the pond" as a frequent occurrence, or for those who are more at home in

Europe than in the United States. Neither are they meant for the thousands who will travel for predetermined reasons of study, business or observation.

There will remain still others, numerous in the aggregate, who may hope to cross the Atlantic for the first time this year, but who are not quite clear as regards plans and objectives. Possibly some of these people might not scorn a few suggestions offered as the result of more than average experience of trans-Atlantic travel.

It is unwise to offer advice; for 1937 readers do not like it any better than listeners like the didactic tones of the radio announcer who tells them this and that. Nevertheless, let me blurt it out for once and be done with it. My advice to those who would like to have a happy time on a first trip—"Coronation" or otherwise—to the British islands is to expect nothing short of just that, and to take everything in the spirit of uncompromising enjoyment. Part of the time the weather is fine.



TRAVEL AND INDUSTRIAL ASSN. OF GT. BRITAIN

Tower Bridge, London, lifts her skirts to the sweep of ships on the Thames

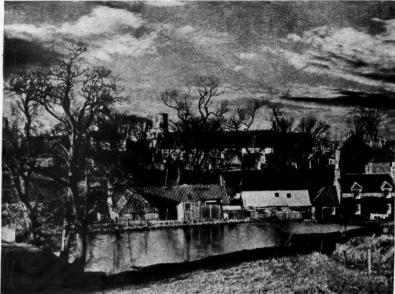
MARCH 1937

Note how the Britishers take their weather as it comes, grumble cheerfully, and thrive at all hazards. There is unlimited kindliness in England for those Americans who make it a point to be considerate and kindly themselves. Ask the price of things; bargain as shrewdly as you please; but be good-tempered always.

The American does not have to feel himself a stranger. When you are sojourning anywhere, from London to Inverness or from Liverpool to Limerick, you may properly feel yourself invited to join in the life of the place. The cockney accent and the cockney humor will delight you, if you exhibit your own sense of humor and appreciation. Give them as many specimens of our surprising Yankee accent as they may like to have in exchange.

Are the English journals sadly short of the real American news? Let us admit at once that they are: But why not fairly saturate ourselves for a time with the English news, reading everything from the stately London *Times* to the sensational half-penny sheets?

The first rule for the advantageous use of somewhat limited time in travel is to make a point of going straight at the things that one would really like to do by reason of his own tastes. I have a neighbor who loves her garden, works long hours in it herself, and is locally famous for her success and her real knowledge of gardening. I suggested to her on a recent trip to England not to grow too weary trudging through picture galleries, guide-book in hand, or puzzling her brain over periods of Gothic architecture in



FROM THE SCOTSMAN CALENDAR

March at Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, sees warm skies but trees yet bare

churches and cathedrals. Many gardens in Devonshire and other parts of England, of rare beauty but seldom seen by travelers, would be open to her for the asking, and she would find unusual enjoyment in following her own line of interest. She took this counsel with most agreeable experiences.

Our teachers, seeking some change and diversion, will not care to spend all their time inspecting schools or attending education conferences. But they will like some professional contacts of that kind, and they will find ample guidance. Available for them also are innumerable excursions to historic places in all parts of England, with travel charges ar-

ranged to suit economical vacation budgets.

There are central travel bureaus, steamship offices, Cook's, the American Express Company, the British railway offices, and various other agencies that are prepared to help the visitor work out his itineraries. The most experienced of us are always glad to avail ourselves of such assistance.

For a number of years the English Speaking Union has earned the gratitude of American visitors by giving them opportunity to join in one-day pilgrimages, under the best possible guidance, to Oxford or Cambridge or Canterbury or some other place equally worth a visit. What could be more delightful on a summer day than a motor trip to Windsor, with Eton, Stoke Poges, the near-by home of William Penn, and other famous places close at hand?

The run out from London is so quickly made that those who would like a game of golf at Stoke Poges with the towers of Windsor Castle in view, may enjoy it without hurry while perchance some members of their party would prefer to meditate under the yew trees in the churchyard, or to spend more hours at Windsor or Eton.

There is always a first time to learn certain things, for instance about British golfing. I have played golf on a number of famous and beautiful courses in England and Scotland, and have always been made welcome without formality of introduction. If you are prepared to play, your credentials are readily accepted on their face; you pay a very moderate greens fee; you are



LIONEL GREEN

Keep to the left - London buses quit Piccadilly Circus for Coventry Street

5 6

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

t

led to a dressing room; an obliging caddy takes your bag of sticks; you find yourself playing with the least possible delay. You have the pleasant feeling that you are not an intruder-in short, you are treated precisely as a visiting Scotchman or Englishman would be treated at a golf club in Massachusetts, Minnesota, California or Florida, but with even less red tape.

My first experience of an English crowd was on Epsom Downs near London. I had arrived in England only the previous day, and I was off early in the morning with a party of friends to witness the Derby racing. This year Derby Day falls on June 2. The immense throngs of Londoners of all sorts and conditions



Round Tower of Ardmore in Ireland

are what make Derby Day worth while for the American who likes to study human nature as revealed in the mass, on such a festive occasion. Through the month of June there are to be Horse Shows and racing near London. Additional events of this kind are scheduled for the entire summer and autumn, in Ireland as well as in England and Scotland.

It is said that everybody in England bets on horse races, from cabinet ministers and bishops to costermongers and errand boys. However that may be, the British people are universally addicted to sports. It is to their credit that they mingle work and play, and find national unity in a common love of outdoor recreation. The most notable of the tennis championships occur this year in the months of June and July, with Wimbledon near London as the scene of these contests.

For those who would like new experiences of the stage and of music, there will be exceptional opportunities throughout the coronation year in London, and also in other places. The Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon is set for March 29, but through a long season there will be opportunity from time to time for Americans to witness plays in the new Shakespeare Memorial Theater that many of us helped to build. On May 19, the Mozart Festival occurs at Glyndebourne in Sussex. In the Midlands and elsewhere are special stage events, such as the Malvern Festival.

The visitor who makes a side trip to Wales to enjoy the splendid choral singing at the annual Eistedfodd will long afterwards cherish memories of so distinctive an occasion. To see and hear the Irish players, on their own boards at the Abbey Theater in Dublin, is another of those opportunities that lovers of dramatic art should not miss if they can thus extend their itinerary.

It is often said that Great Britain is a small island with far too many people. The fact is that they enjoy their life at home too well to consider inducements to become Australians or Canadians. It is true that there are eight or ten million people who belong to London, if we include the suburban zones. There are almost or quite as many residing in the textile district of Manchester if everybody within a radius of twenty or thirty miles is included. But England is largely rural and agricultural. Nor does it seem small, or over-crowded. Those of us who are interested in village life and in methods of agriculture can always enjoy what we see and learn as we tour along pleasant highways and country lanes and note the green fields and finished landscape.

If fashionable hotels in London are crowded, there are thousands of hospitable inns throughout England, and hundreds of thousands of honest people who are ready to open their doors to the passing stranger and offer him comfortable lodging. The cattle markets in the country villages are better worth the attention of American farmers than Westminster Abbey or London Toweralthough these famous places must, of course, be seen in order to escape the reproach of Mrs. Grundy back home, who will ask questions. The livestock of Great Britain (dairy and beef breeds of cattle, fine horses, prize sheep, and pigs of high degree) is engaging the close attention of educated Englishmen, who have been turning to the soil, and who are greatly increasing the homegrown supply of food, with truck gardens, poultry farms, and an expanded acreage of small fruits.

Everywhere in England, Scotland, and Ireland the visitor will find the housing question at the forefront. Within a dozen years, some hundreds of thousands of new homes have been built. These are largely occupied by working people, who are paying for them on the installment plan. The national government has given some financial aid, but the housing movement is chiefly a matter of municipal and local concern. In Ireland, where the great estates have been subdivided, the small



Punts on the Avon float placidly by the walled castle and town of Warwick

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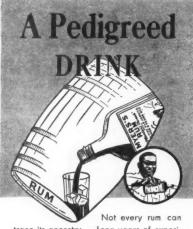
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Lowing cows line up for milking time on a farm between Dunsyre and Biggar

land-holders are engaged in the construction of many new cottages, with the government's encouragement and systematic support.

Practical American citizens, women not less than men, would like to know how relief is administered in England. The best way to find out is to make direct inquiry, by preference at first in some comparatively small community. The management of public services in the larger cities is a subject that requires more time for investigation, but there is no mystery about any of these things, and the authorities are ready to give information.

In the far northern latitude of the British islands the winter days are short, and too often they are wet and dull. The London fogs, however, are local. Often one may escape from them to find brilliant sunshine twenty or thirty miles away. The summer days, on the other hand, are long, and the English and Scotch people take full advantage of the extra daylight. However tiny the plot around a workman's cottage, every square foot is brilliant with flowers. There is ample time after working hours for outdoor activities as well as for garden-making; and so it happens that cricket and football are universal, with many thousands of men from shops and factories making their way to municipal golf courses.

With so many pleasant things to see within a few hours' distance from London, it proves a practical plan to patronize the innumerable trains, with their low fares and high speeds. At one's destination, the local taxi driver is an excellent guide and he assumes the role of experienced adviser. His charge by

the hour is reasonable, and the stranger with little time to spare can see the whole of Warwickshire, for example, in one full day.

Experienced travelers know that quick glimpses often leave sharp, permanent impressions. Imagine having a margin of time so scanty as to make a trip from London to Scotland and Ireland seem quite impossible. Yet the day train through the Eastern counties of England affords the revelation of a hundred interesting sights. The visitor is in Edinburgh long before dark. The taxi driver requisitioned by your hotel porter shows you the external sights of the Scotch capital within two or three hours. The next morning you are on your way, having purchased in London a trip ticket to Belfast that includes every possible kind of conveyance.

Your local train crosses the Firth of Forth and takes you to Stirling and Callander. By bus and horse conveyance you have a thrilling ride through the Trossachs and have seen the lower Highlands. By graceful passenger boat you traverse the length of those scenic lakes Katrine and Lomond. A short train ride brings you to Glasgow in time for a taxi tour, and you note some of the principal features of the industrial

metropolis of Scotland.

You are aboard your steamer for Belfast a good while before dark. For many miles you traverse Clydeside, close to the greatest succession of shipyards in the world. At dark you are passing out of the Clyde estuary, and you wake in the early morning at the capital of Northern Ireland. At the foot of the gangplank you find a willing and eager young Irishman standing by his automobile, prepared to show you Belfast. You stop five minutes to join the throng at a church wedding. You see the new municipal buildings

and the principal parks.

By this time your driver proposes to take you to Londonderry and the Donegal hills. His talk is pleasant, his prices are reasonable, and when you have reached Londonderry well before dark you have seen a surprising extent of Northern Ireland. You make your way across the border into the Free State. Perchance you send your Belfast man back home; make further use of railroad trains and local taxi men; stop at coöperative creameries; speak to friendly farm women at the doors of their whitewashed cottages; and so reach Dublin as and when you can.

You find the Irish capital an entrancing place, are thankful to have seen it, register a vow to return and stay longer, and make your way back to England by fast steamer across the Irish Sea, connecting with an excellent train for London.

Certainly a part of one's foreign sojourn should include some days or weeks of leisurely residence in one place, to acquire a sense of being at home, having come to know the policeman on the corner and the people in the small shops, who sell you papers and books or who serve you with buns and tea, and who always end a chat with "Theng-kew."

But let no one think scornfully of a swift excursion, such as I have described, in those summer weeks that entice you with almost twenty hours of daylight. When all is said and done, however, we can but take our own tastes and aptitudes with us and follow our inclinations. We discover that travel brings its sure reward, and we learn to forget mishaps and discomforts in the afterdays of reminiscence.

ALBERT SHAW



TRAVEL AND INDUSTRIAL ASSN. OF GT. BRITAIN

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#### CUNARD WHITE STAR

# STEPCHILDREN OF THE MOTHER TONGUE

#### By Walter Barnes

WE NEED to define and develop in America a style of language which is more natural, idiomatic, and comfortable.

The schools, from the elementary grades clear through the college, have accepted and have done their best to teach the formal expository writing style as the usual, the regular mode of expression and communication. Conventional propriety has been played up as the highest virtue, breaking the "laws" of grammar looked upon as the lowest crime. Even when the schools have given a little grudging attention to oral language, they have regarded this dignified, strait-laced, ultra-correct writing dialect as the desirable manner in speech.

Texts in grammar and rhetoric, hand-books of usage, courses of study, all the traditions and the machinery of the schools have stressed the necessity of knowing the rules and sticking to them. Pedants and purists have fussed and fumed about so many small points and trivial distinctions, have passed so many linguistic blue laws that to most people English has seemed a maze of prescriptions, cautions, and nega-

#### LA-DI-DA ENGLISH

A few expressions so good grammatically that they are bad: Whom is it for? It is I who am going. In the circumstances. Shall I see you again? Will you do it? — Surely. (Why not say Sure? It is more idiomatic than Surely). All you folk come in. (Certainly, folks is the preferable colloquial word).

tions. To watch your step has seemed more important than going places, to observe the table etiquette of language more important than having something to eat.

Other lovers of conformity have ganged up with the schools. Certain correspondence courses, two or three magazines on "correct language", a number of radio announcers, occasional editorials and letters to the editor add to the impression that language is a ritual of formal conventions, prim manners, and genteel observances.

Language is a mode of individual and social behavior, of personal and group conduct. People who are by temperament dignified, staid, and highhat, who go in for fine manners and correctness at any cost, will naturally prize conventionality in language: it's their kind of game, it's down their alley. But no one has appointed or anointed these gentry to be the custodians of our language, the judges of what is good, the arbiters of usage and taste. Hair-splitters, gerund-grinders, fuss-budgets are surely not the wisest teachers and safest leaders in language, or in any kind of human behavior.

The style of language most effective is that which is most appropriate on the specific occasion. Sometimes the occasion calls for formal, careful, meticulously proper language. But for most of the circumstances of life the desirable style is the informal, easy style of conversation, the pleasant, acceptable American vernacular. Particularly does this apply in this present generation, which in all its ways and manners, in dress, etiquette, and behavior is casual and easygoing.

Surely, we need to define and develop and to use a style of language which is more natural, idiomatic, and comfortable.

The conventionalists in language rely upon several lines of defense.

#### USEFUL SLANG

Slang has never been clearly defined. It is amazing and amusing how many words with an unbroken line of descent from Anglo-Saxon are classed as slang by the mealy-mouthed. Here are a few expressive and comfortable words and phrases heard or read in one day. They make no bones about it. He was miffed, peeved. He was fed up. Yeah (in a half-dozen inflections, each one with its shade of meaning). Okay. Nothing doing. Settle down for keeps, Flabbergasted. He funked it. It never feazed him. In a jiffy. A new wrinkle. Muggy weather. From fair to middling. A hard-boiled New Yorker. It got his goat. Beat it. He kept chiseling in. Hooey. Hot music. Down his alley.Twaddle.Piffle.Scram.

Perhaps their strongest one is composed of "rules" of grammar. One must not say, for example, "It is me," because this violates the rule "the copulative verb is followed by the nominative form of the pronoun." But that so-called rule has no regulatory powers. Like all such statements, it has validity only insofar as it is a true generalization from all the facts.

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The facts concerning the case of "It is me" are: 1. This expression is in accepted use in informal situations. 2. It is preferable to "It is I" whenever the speaker wishes to emphasize his own personal identity. It is so used and has been so used by dozens of reputable writers from Shakespeare to the present, includ-

ing such men as Emerson, Meredith, and Stevenson. 3. So far as anyone knows, it has been in good colloquial use for three or four centuries, though for most of that time the grammarians have been grumbling about it. 4. Many careful, sensitive speakers and writers employ both "It is me" and "It is I," depending on the desired shade of meaning.

Why, then, have the grammarians got so hot and bothered over "It is me"? Because, no doubt, they have "made up their minds" (a revealing phrase!) that this "rule" concerning the copulative verb and the nominative case does represent nearly all the facts; that it is a neat, handy, general statement; that since the language is nicer and tidier when usages are made to conform to such rules, therefore "It is I" is the right form. By such reasoning "It is me" seems to be a mistake, a lapse from

a proper standard. Many people, it would appear, assume that the language once had an ideal grammar structure which has been debased by illiterates. Study of the language, from old English to the present, reveals nothing of the sort. It does show a peeling off of inflectional forms, but that change has given the language ease and springiness. And at every such simplification the contemporary grammarians groaned and warned. The history of the English language can be visualized as a continued though irregular war between the people, generally including the literary artists, in one army, and the grammarians in the other. And the grammarians, though victors in a few skirmishes, have never won a pitched battle.

For your language-conformers and language-reformers are working against the grain, are bucking human nature. They insist that the language be logical, that it be decorous, nice-mannered, orderly. But language was made, is being made, by human beings for human purposes; it will be no more rational and obedient and proper than human nature itself.

Hence the attempts by finicky school-marms (in school and out) to banish slang have always petered out. Some slang is inane, some is rowdy and nasty. Slang is occasionally inappropriate to the circumstances. A heavy admixture of slang, except for a few unusual purposes, makes language too cocky and smartalecky. But the making of slang will go merrily on, because certain dynamic, creative, originative forces within us, certain robust, rebellious, humorous powers, certain capricious, whimsical, human qualities get a thrill, get a kick out of this. And if

prunes-and-prismy folks don't like it, well that's just too bad. Too bad for them and for the cause of more effective speech, since possibly the schools could teach good sense and good taste in slang if they assumed a sensible attitude toward it.

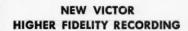
Many people have or affect a kind of squeamishness, which causes them to elevate genteel eyebrows at slang, at provincialisms, at unparsable idioms, and century-old vernacular expressions, and to turn up patrician noses at a natural, full-blooded American colloquial style. It is precisely this American colloquial style which should be the standard and norm of communication, the basal language.

This fear of making language slips, of blundering, of seeming illiterate or crude is amusingly like the fear that so many of the newly rich and suddenly fashionable have of committing social errors. They are unnaturally stiff and proper, they daren't let themselves go for a second; they must have regulations and set conventions to cling to. Probably there is no surer sign of language immaturity and weakness than this docile obedience to the trivial rules and the "correct usages", formulated, often fabricated by thin-blooded precisionists. Are we to deliver ourselves and our language over to those whose keenest linguistic delight is observing theoretical distinctions between "shall" and "will" and ferreting out split infinitives?

What has been said here is, of course, not a denial of standards or a Union Square argument for anarchy in language. But the standards which should control are those which are honestly induced from pleasant, forceful, easy colloquial language, not those standards manufactured by logicians, Madam Grundys, and rule-worshiping grammarians, which are of dubious validity even for formal English and are entirely lacking in application to the vernacular style.

Most of us will have to re-learn our mother tongue. We must get rid of the false notions of the school. We must set up the conversational manner as most effective and appropriate. We must borrow from the speech of rustics, illiterates, and slang-makers those phrases that have expressiveness, humor, and vigor; and must have a relish for the original, striking, and native.

We shall take as our models the familiar talk of well-poised, educated, generous-natured human beings, sensitive to language but not afraid of it, using English as an easy, natural form of individual expression and social communication.





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# THE LITERARY LANDSCAPE

GREY OF FALLODON

By George Macaulay Trevelyan Houghton Mifflin, \$3.75

This is a distinguished biography of a British statesman who sincerely loved peace and who is ironically destined to go down in history as one of the principal actors in the world's greatest war to date. It is based upon a careful selection of letters as well as a close personal acquaintance; and many of the most important of the letters have not appeared in print before. Since they bear upon important historical points, such as the relations between Grey and Ambassador Walter Hines Page and Colonel E. M. House, they have a value beyond the purely personal. Grey realized the importance of the friendship of this country and probably played a considerable part in bringing us into the war.

Professor Trevelyan takes all the space necessary to discuss these matters, and to explain how hard Grey worked for peace throughout his career, how much he believed in the League of Nations, and how bitterly he was disappointed at the Treaty of Versailles. But he does not neglect the other side of the man, either, and Grey's love for the country and particularly for the birds about which he wrote with such great charm, was quite as much a part of him as his public career.

As long as he lived he wondered -as any man at all in his position would-whether anything could have been done to avert the World War. It is a question that can have no positive answer, but Professor Trevelyan's analysis makes it plain that Grey at least did everything in his power to avoid the disaster. His apparent uncertainty in 1914, for which he has been criticized, is explained by his biographer as having resulted from his position as the representative of a democratic power; he had to wait to know what the British Empire had decided upon before making definite commitments.

The courage and determination of the man who stuck to his job under the threat of blindness, later realized, are striking and inspiring. He was obviously possessed of unusual



Lord Grey of Fallodon, when he became Foreign Minister at 43. His biography is among new books reviewed this month

#### BY HERSCHEL BRICKELL

inner resources that enabled him to face tragedy without shrinking, which was fortunate in view of the burdens he had to carry.

As an intimate friend, Professor Trevelyan writes with a sympathetic touch, but he is not in any sense idolatrous. His book is an exceptionally fine portrait, and a genuine contribution to the history of the war, the League, and the other epochal events of Grey's eleven years as head of the Foreign Office.

THE NILE

By Emil Ludwig Viking Press, \$5

The biographer of a large number of famous men, from Napoleon to Jesus, now presents us with the "Life Story of a River". And in order to bridge the gap between the human race and geography he has an elaborate explanation of the Faust-like quality of the stream whose history he relates. It is a good explanation for those who are interested, but it matters less than that the book itself-which is an omnium gatherum of history, politics, archaelogy, ethnology, economics and a few other classifications of human knowledge-is good and informative reading.

There are times when the writing strikes a highfalutin' note, but on the whole the majesty of the subject (and all great rivers are majestic) demands the kind of sonorous prose with which Mr. Ludwig provides it. A great deal of his material he gathered at first hand, and he has dared to do such original things as to write the history of Egypt from the point of view of the fellah, the peasant, which gives this section of his book exceptional interest. His theory is that the captains and the kings depart, but the fellahin stay on. And certain angles of this matter, such as the present status of cotton-growing, happen to be of direct interest to Americans.

Statistically, there are six hundred closely printed pages in the book, which is supplied with a large folding map of the whole Nile territory, and the publishers explain that it covers "4000 miles and 6000 years". This is a job to tax the powers of even so practised a research-worker as Mr. Ludwig, but he seems to have brought it off with considerable credit to himself. Also he has opened up a large new field if he plans to continue with rivers, oceans, mountain ranges, etc.

**EXPANSIONISTS OF 1898** 

By Julius W. Pratt Johns Hopkins Press, \$3 li

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Dr. Pratt, who is Emanuel Boasberg Professor of American History at Buffalo University, delivered the lectures contained in this volume at the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, under the auspices of the Albert Shaw Foundation. They cover the most important period of imperialism in this country, when "manifest destiny" set us to stretching out our hands for territory.

From the first hesitant beginnings in the Harrison administration to the final annexation of Hawaii, the story is told in detail, and with innumerable sidelights; not many people will remember that we might never have taken Hawaii had it not been for the acquisition of the Philippines, which turned our thoughts Pacificwards. As a curious chapter in our story, to which finis has not yet been written, Dr. Pratt's lectures make unusually good reading and throw a light upon some vital contemporary questions as well.

ZERO HOUR

By Richard Freund Oxford University Press, \$2.50

IS IT PEACE?

By Graham Hutton Macmillan Company, \$2.50

THE DANGEROUS SEA

By George Slocombe Macmillan Company, \$2.50

VIEWED WITHOUT ALARM

By Walter Millis Houghton Mifflin, \$1.25

The question of whether we are facing another World War is central in these books. Three of them are by Englishmen and of especial importance to anyone who is curious about the British Empire at the present moment. Mr. Freund, as the title of his book indicates, thinks that war is quite near. Mr. Hutton thinks that if we are to have peace it must be a Pax Britannica. Mr. Slocombe contents himself with pointing out the imminent dangers in the Mediterranean brought about by the direct conflict of Italy and Great Britain. And our own Mr. Millis thinks that the talk of war is exaggerated, that there is not likely to be an armed conflict right away, and that it may be avoided.

Both Mr. Freund and Mr. Hutton agree that Europe is so shot to pieces as to make any confidence in alliances look foolish. Mr. Millis agrees, but gives exactly the opposite interpretation to the facts, declaring that war is made more unlikely by this chaotic state of affairs. Mr. Freund is distinctly British and pro-League in his point of view, whereas Mr. Hutton is much more sharply critical of the course of the foreign policy of his country since the war and especially in the past five years. Mr. Millis says the very fact that the British have been uncertain of exactly the expedient course to pursue has helped to keep the peace, because neither Germany nor France has known exactly what to count on. Mr. Millis's summary of the British situation is that England's mind is made up to peace regardless of what happens to any other country, and this seems to be a reasonable interpretation of recent events, whatever may happen in the future.

Mr. Freund suggests that unless we lend Europe some of our hoarded gold we will pay for our miserliness by becoming involved finally in the downfall of western civilization. Mr. Hutton declares that one of the principal restraining influences on England is the knowledge that the dominions would not rush into another European war with any eagerness, and that the United States would certainly be hard to involve.

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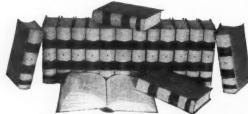
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Mr. Millis says that the English are taking care of their own interests and refusing to fight, and suggests

that we do the same.

Mr. Slocombe analyses the whole Mediterranean situation from the Dardanelles to the Pillars of Hercules, and shows the difficulties of the British position in view of Italian aggression. Within two years there will be enough warships in the Middle Sea to put on the greatest naval battle in history, which is an indication of what is going on there.

Mr. Millis's little book of seventyodd pages offers about all the consolation there is to be had from this group. Mr. Freund's volume is an excellent survey of the world situation at present and Mr. Hutton's of the course of British foreign policy since the World War, whether one agrees with their interpretations or

#### THE ROMANCE OF THE CALENDAR

By P. W. Wilson W. W. Norton & Co., \$3

Here in a single volume which may be read comfortably and agreeably in a couple of evenings is the whole absorbing story of the measurement of time, all the way down from man's earliest experiments to the movement for a new World Calendar. This latest proposal for reform goes a step beyond the thirteen-month movement, dividing the year into four quarters of 91 days each, or thirteen weeks, and arranging matters so that important holidays all fit into the desirable long week-end plan. There are at present, according to Mr. Wilson, some fourteen calendars in use in Mexico, China, and India, so that the adoption of the World Calendar would considerably simplify life in those parts as well as everywhere else. He does not devote himself to any propaganda, but he does present the facts, ancient and modern, in a conspicuously well-ordered and readable manner. A book as intelligently done as this, on a subject that touches us all intimately, can hardly fail to interest any variety of reader as he winds the clock of history.

#### MEIN KAMPF

By Adolf Hitler Houghton Mifflin, \$2.50 p in F

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This is a new printing of the expurgated text of Modern Germany's bible, put back on the market by its publishers because of its application to what is going on in Europe today. Hitler has gone a long way with his plans since the book was first brought out here, and it is helpful to check prophecy and realization, also to re-read what else there is in store for the dictator's followers and the rest of us.

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# Man Can Talk With God, Says Noted Psychologist

A new and revolutionary religious teaching based entirely on the misunderstood sayings of the Galilean Carpenter, and designed to show how we may find, understand and use the same identical power which Jesus used in performing His so-called Miracles, is attracting world wide attention to its founder, Dr. Frank B. Robinson, noted psychologist, author and lecturer.

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Dr. Robinson has prepared a 6000 word treatise on "Psychiana," in which he tells treatise on "Psychiana," in which he tells about his long search for the Truth, how he finally came to the full realization of an Unseen Power or force so dynamic in itself that all other powers and forces fade into insig-nificance beside it—how he learned to commune directly with the Living God, using this mighty, never-failing power to demonstrate health, happiness and financial success, and how any normal being may find and use it as Jesus did. He is now offering this treatise free to every reader of this magazine who writes him.

If you want to read this highly interesting, revolutionary and fascinating story of the discovery of a great Truth, just send your name and address to Dr. Frank B. Robinson, 407-3rd Street, Moscow, Idaho. It will be sent free and postpaid without cost or obligation. Write the Doctor today.—Copyright 1935, Dr. Frank B. Röbinson.—Advertisement.

By A. Novikoff-Priboy Alfred A. Knopf, \$3.50

A best-seller in the U.S.S.R., this is a first-hand account of the destruction of the Russian squadron commanded by Rozhestvensky in the Russo-Japanese war, the author having been in the battle as paymaster's steward on the battleship Oryol. It is a shocking record of the complete inefficiency of the Czar's navy in all departments, and contains a considerable amount of communist propaganda along with its tremendously dramatic account of the fight itself. As a picture of life below decks in the old Russian navy, however, the book is of unquestionable value, and the actual description of the battle—pieced to-gether, says the author, from eyewitness accounts-is hair-raising. The details of how the material was accumulated, lost, and then re-discovered, are also interesting, although harder to authenticate than the historical parts of the narrative. Tsushima, says Novikoff-Proboy, was one of the four decisive seafights in history, a verdict with which no one has to agree to find this an unusual and stirring book of battle in what was perhaps the first modern war. Will redmen carry on against Nippon where the long-lost czarists failed?

IN 1936

By A. C. Eurich and E. C. Wilson Henry Holt & Co., \$2.50

#### AMERICAN HURLY-BURLY

By Ernest Sutherland Bates and Alan Williams Robert C. McBride, \$2.50

Here are two books that attempt to present a record of the significant events of last year. The first is by the authors of the questionnaire that is a regular feature of Time, and is written in the style of that magazine. The second is in English, and goes a good deal farther in the direction of editorial comment than "In 1936". This gives the upper hand to the Eurich-Wilson volume because many of the tags in the Bates-Williams book have an oddly hollow sound; it is a tough job to fit the events of yesterday into any sort of historical pattern which will make sense today.

We seem to have a passion for facts just now, and anyone who is not satisfied with what he remembers from his daily newspaper and his REVIEW OF REVIEWS will find refreshment for his memory in both volumes. They represent diligence and hard work, not inspiration. Time's twisted language does not appeal to this reviewer, although this lone protest may not even be worth making.

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Nations, like men, learn from experience. Wars, weather, disasters, have often curtailed supplies of the most important energy food ... sugar. Today virtually every strong nation of the world has developed internal sugar production as a safeguard against interruption of remote supplies. In the United States an efficient beet sugar industry normally fills the sugar requirements of 30,000,000 Americans.

When Trafalgar "closed the seas to the valor and commerce of France" Napoleon founded a domestic beet sugar industry. Soon Germany became the largest beet sugar producer of Europe, exporting to England and other countries. During the War German shipments to England were stopped. U-boats jeopardized supplies from the tropics. After the War England founded a large beet industry. Today sugar beets grow in Japan, in Manchukuo, on the whole face of Europe from Scandinavia to the Bosphorus, with Soviet Russia the largest producer of all.

So commonplace is sugar, so available at your corner grocer, it is difficult to realize that at any given moment, the world's sugar supply is within a few weeks of exhaustion. Yet this is true.

An industry engaged in developing American natural resources, improving American agriculture, and supplying American markets with an all-American food product How the sugar beet benefits America, how it produces meat in addition to sugar, how it contributes to employment and helps scores of other industries, is described in "The Silver Wedge," a booklet sent on request.

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What a farming system including sugar beets has meant for thousands of American farmers is typified by the record of George Alles, Greeley, Colo. He started as a beet-field laborer. He saved enough to buy a small farming outfit and rented a farm. Thrifty work as a tenant farmer enabled him to make his first payment on a farm of his own. Later he bought three more farms. He has grown sugar beets every year for 28 years. Yet because of the well-balanced farming demanded by beet culture, never more than a fourth of his land is planted to beets. The rest is in hay, grain and potatoes. He fattens some steers each year on the basic beet by-product ration and keeps a dairy herd—so has a supply of fertilizer to maintain his land's productivity.

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# Reading Around the World

## Edward in Exile

The Problems of a Private Citizen

ELSA MAXWELL IN Redbook

NEVER, so long as he lives, will the Duke of Windsor be permitted to become just another name in the telephone directory. All professions are closed to him—that much is certain. He can no more attempt to set up a business in Wall Street or raise cattle in Argentina than you or I can attempt to run for the presidency of the Soviet Republic. A member of the family that still rules over the British Empire, he cannot afford to do what royalty, expelled by a revolution, has always done.

It is quite all right for a Romanoff to work as a floor-walker in a Fifth Avenue store, or for a Bourbon to organize a real-estate firm in Philadelphia, or for a Hohenzollern to accept a job from Mr. Ford; but it is utterly impossible for a Windsor to accept a paying position. The Romanoffs, the Bourbons, and the Hohenzollerns have long since gone with the wind; but the Windsors still live in Buckingham Palace.

the wind; but the Windsors still live in Buckingham Palace. His case is without precedent. The only voluntary exile in the long history of the Old World rulers, he has to overcome all the handicaps that faced his dethroned predecessors, and

he is permitted none of their liberties.

Edward is forty-three, Mrs. Simpson forty-one. Had he remained King of England and she Mrs. Simpson, both would have been considered young, sufficiently young in any event to enjoy life. But he is not king any more; while she is about to become Duchess of Windsor. This means that at the age of forty-three and forty-one respectively, both will be called upon to blue-pencil everything that happened to them before, and develop brand-new personalities. He will have to forget that he ever ruled over 489,000,000 subjects, that for forty-three years of his life he was first the world's darling, then the world's most eligible bachelor; that wherever he went in those forty-three years he was given the Number One position, whatever he saw in those forty-three years could have been his for the asking.

She, in turn, will have to forget that she was born in an impoverished family in Baltimore, that she has known privation, that she has shared whatever a young navy officer has to share with his wife, that she has led the gay and care-free existence of a dashing guardsman's wife, that the overwhelming shadows of Victoria, Edward VII and George V

never interfered with her pleasure.

Can so much blue-penciling be done? I doubt it. Not at the age of forty-three—nor the age of forty-one. A stock-broker can sell his seat on the New York Stock Exchange and become a stamp-collector. A grocer can settle on a farm and raise chickens. A chambermaid can make a hit on Broadway. A Hollywood star can enter a convent. But no king, least of all a king of England, can become a "private person" at the age of forty-three. And no "private person" can become a true Windsor at the age of forty-one.

"The Duke and the future Duchess of Windsor expect to

live the lives of private citizens.'

Thus speaks our wayward press. What nonsense—what arrant nonsense! Shadowed by reporters, watched by the British Government, ever mindful of any possible embarrassment they could cause King George VI, the Duke and the future Duchess of Windsor will find less privacy in the most secluded castle in Austria than they could have had on Piccadilly Circus. Way back in London they were two people

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#### from the current magazines

who liked each other's company; while in their future retreat—whether in Austria or at the North Pole—they will be the Two Great Lovers of Our Generation, and God's answer to the reporter's prayer.

the reporter's prayer.

Way back in London they went around with gay young people who believed in youth and its right to blunder, while in their future retreat they will wake up some day and realize that they are a persecuted, maligned, misunderstood, middle-aged couple who can forgive but not forget.

# Belgium's Degrelle

Introducing Rex of the Rexists

FROM Today

LEON DEGRELLE is dark, suntanned, dashing. He is romantic, fiery, and only 28 years old. The personification of Belgian youth, restless in the postwar era, he inspires the ardent sighs of susceptible girlhood and the maledictions of his staid elders. And he is turning Belgium upside-down by his frantic antics, his idiosyncrasies and his merciless personal invective. No one at Brussels seems to know how to deal with him and his adolescent cohorts, the Rexists.

His followers have rioted in the Belgian capital, have threatened huge mass marches on the metropolis, have demonstrated with canes and razors and loaded clubs. Degrelle himself has been jailed for his defiance of law and order and government decrees. His Rexists have made the newspaper front pages, adding to the general chaos that is spreading over Europe.

Degrelle says things like this when interviewed by

astounded reporters:

"My instruments are propaganda and terror. . . . Everybody is afraid of me these days. . . . Heads will come off when I seize the power. . . . Hitler tried to bribe me, but I refused because I don't need money. . . . What France really wants is a man like me. . . . There are times when one must

let the furious mob run wild. . .

Degrelle is of comfortable middle-class origin. His father was a Catholic party politician, and he was educated at the University of Louvain. He became a journalist, went to Mexico, became famous for his pithy reportorial abuse of public personages. Then he entered Belgian politics within the fold of the conservative Catholic political machine. Here he was useful because of his appeal to youth, with his drive and fire. Finally he became so domineering that the party elders rebelled, their dignity offended, afraid of his wild tactics.

Young Leon proceeded to found his own private movement, that of the Rexists. Rex meant Christ at first, and referred to the traditionalist sentiments of the group. To-day, however, Rex means nobody but Degrelle, king of the Rexists. Rexism is the Belgian form of those fascist forces

which have been sweeping Europe.

Degrelle claims that parliamentary government is in-efficient and corrupt. He attacks alleged grafters in the three orthodox Belgian parties—conservative Catholics, free-thinking middle-class Liberals, and trade-union Social-Democrats. The Big Three, formerly at odds, now flock together on the terrified defensive as against the youth-threat of Rexism. There have been some unsavory scandals in Belgian public life, and Degrelle makes much of these. Belgian statesmen shrink before his merciless pamphleteering.

The Rexist program, however, is opportunist and quite nebulous. It is vaguely nationalist, goes in for red-and pink-hazing and is pro-Hitler and anti-French. Degrelle admires the nazis, has disliked the left-wing government at Paris. Unemployed, misfits, and some aristocrats and militarists have joined Belgian youth in the Rexist ranks. They

are sick of speeches, want violent action, barricades.

Saint or sinner, wiseman or fanatic, Degrelle must be reckoned with. His country has a highly strategic location, as the World War showed. Should a troubled France be surrounded by fascist dictatorships-Italy, Germany, then Spain and Belgium-it might alter the course of history.

We shall hear more of this whirring human dynamo-Rex

## American Women

As an Argentino sees them

FIDELINO DE FIGUEIREDO IN Nosotros, BUENOS AIRES

IN NEW YORK'S Metropolitan Museum there stands an admirable bronze statue of Diana, by Karl Bitter. This work might be taken as the distinctive North American conception of the goddess, for it differs markedly from all earlier studies-for example, the familiar studies in the Louvre, that of Houdon and the one attributed to Jean Goyon.

This Diana of New York has an expression of dominant energy. An erect figure, nude with the impersonal nudity of an Olympic player, she grasps the symbolic bow like the whip of a female horse trainer. This woman might be the symbol of a new civilization, the feminocracy of North

America.

Woman is certainly the chief of American treasures; for her fresh and enduring beauty, for her intelligence, for her militant devotion to the advance of culture, for her administrative and organizing instinct, for her fine tact, for her ability to retain all the enchantment of her sex while leading her sisters in other lands to the freedom which she has

won for herself.

The typical American woman has followed the example of the First Lady of her land, in taking part in varied activities beyond those of the hearth. Stenographer, executive, or lady of means and leisure, the American woman possesses an aristocratic instinct which guides her decision in the most delicate matters of taste; and she has a boundless intellectual curiosity, with, at the same time, a courteous tolerance and sensitivity. One can pardon in her a certain tendency towards the stereotyped in manners and modes, for a lack of individuality has always been a defect of American life-to compensate, perhaps, for the extraordinary variety of the

With such women, seduction, in the strict sense of the word, is quite impossible. The freedom and the intelligence of the American woman would be the despair of the most gallant tenor of the classics; the magic of the fatal guitar is of no avail against her imperturbability. A certain frigidity of the senses is partly a characteristic of the national temperament, partly a result of co-education and strenuous physical exercise. This, fortified by a penetrating psycho-logical perception, has permitted the development of a new litany of love, quite unlike anything on our side of the sea. Sex is made a matter of household instruction, without either special emphasis or much imagination—as simple as elementary hygiene and first aid.

But the American woman, with her cosmic spirit, secure in her freedom and worthy of all her powers, suffers none the less from one small defect. It is the perversity of the gods that no human shall attain complete perfection; her foot is not so dainty as that of her Latin sister.

# The Rival Spains

The extreme right faces a dilemma

#### FROM Public Opinion, LONDON

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IN THIS present struggle, liberalism, represented by unorganised intellectuals, passive middle classes and anarcho-syndical-ist workmen, is but a side issue. What remains is a duel between two authoritarian principles—two genuine manifestations of Spanish life and spirit. These two forms of the Spanish pessimism are ready to express themselves in the forms evolved respectively by fascism and communism.

Spanish fascism is certainly not planning to become a servant of vested interests and a guardian over the well-fed and sleepy landowner-capitalist. It puts the national interest above every other interest and in economic matters might well be described as 'hierarchical socialism.' Communism in Spain is also steeped in that totalitarian sense which puts the interests of the whole country above those of any one person. It is a well organised party, composed of clean and en-thusiastic people; one of the best organised and most capable in the land.

No one is a prophet about his own country. It may, nevertheless, be safe to prophesy that, as a consequence, though not an immediate consequence, of this orgy of mutual hatred and destruction, the two sides will come to realise that they have never been less divided than they will be when the

civil war is over.

It was inevitable that the States of Europe which incarnate these doctrines should take a powerful interest in a civil war fought between two Spains so closely allied to them. But, while there is close similarity and at times conscious imitation, it is evident that, both on the Right and on the Left, the

Spanish and the foreign cases are fundamentally different and cannot be dismissed as identical.

To take the communist side first; assuming that the Left win the civil war, the communist party, even allied to the socialists, could not disregard the numerous and powerful syndicalist section of working-class opinion. Spanish communism would therefore evolve in original Spanish ways, a necessary compromise between the Moscow master and the strong idiosyncracies of the pupil.

It is probable that, the war once over, the influence of Moscow would rapidly dwindle, first as a national reaction, then as a consequence of the disenchantment which the experience of communism would call forth in masses of a messianic turn of mind whose ideals are always safer in Heaven, and finally because Moscow would be naturally considered as a political enemy by all 'pure' syndicalists.

If, on the other hand, the fascists won not merely over the Left but over the Right, of which they are the only progressive element, they would be hard put to it to harness under a fascist discipline the most individualistic people on earth. It is significant that the Spanish Phalanx (the fascists and Hitlerians) have chosen as their political name not national-socialism but national-syndicalism.

The civil war will have shown the people the value of technique and that of discipline. It will have shown the upper classes—whether they win or lose—that government is impossible without the acquiescence of the people.

One problem—the greatest of all—will remain unsolved, perhaps for ever insoluble, a perpetual challenge to the Spanish nation; how to combine the authoritarian sense, which is not merely the present mood but a permanent tendency of the two rival Spains, with that yearning for liberty which makes of all Spaniards, without exception, anarchists at heart.

The Federal Government should only have the functions of mediator and arbiter between autonomous regions, leaving to these the widest faculties for their social, religious, economic and educational organization.

# China and the Royal Love

The East sympathizes with western Edward

T. S. YOUNG IN The China Weekly Review

ONCE I loved a girl with all my heart, and became an abject slave to that passion. But in China, the marriage of a son is often decided by his parents, and we do not say that a young man marries a wife, but that his parents take in a daughterin-law. Upon their learning of my love affair, my grand-mother, parents, and many other relatives unanimously raised strong objections. But the death of the girl saved my family from revolution.

I read with sympathy the reports of desperate youths who, on the impulse of their desperation, either jumped into the Whangpoo River or swallowed a dose of opium, when their love affair was frustrated by family objection. I would not ridicule the stupidity and numbness of intelligent men, when they are disappointed in love. Nor would I call a king a fool, should he sacrifice his kingdom on the altar of love.

I have always thought how happy would be our domestic life, if we could choose our wives as freely as we select the pattern and color of our clothes; without being hampered in any slight degree by outside considerations and influences. In this respect, I have very much envied the lot of American and British people; for, in the selection of their wives, they are not dictated to by their parents, they are not fettered by traditions, they are not bound by superstitious beliefs, and they entertain no prejudice against widows and divorced women. It, therefore, shocks me to learn that the King of a country, which is reputed to be one of the most democratic and where the people enjoy complete freedom in love affairs,

should be denied the privilege of marrying the woman of his choice. Even in China, a man of forty years old is independent enough to select his own wife without the fear

of encountering family objections.

The woman loved by the said King may be a foreigner, a commoner, and a twice divorcee, but she is still one of God's creatures just as the King himself. The proposed marriage may be morganatic, but from the anatomical standpoint, what is really the difference in the physical make-up between a princess of a royal house and a girl from Main Street? Eugenics may lay stress upon the selection of one's mate, but it is not known that it has ever raised any objection to a morganatic marriage. It is anachronism to talk about royal blood and family pedigree at a time when we have been repeatedly told that all men are created equal. Before long, a king will have to remain single, or accept any girl who can claim a distant relationship to King Arthur.

I believe that a king is not a Son of Heaven as claimed by our dear neighbor, but an ordinary human being made of flesh and blood. As a human being, he is as susceptible to the attacks of winsome Cupid as any other human being. If a king, who is said to be loved by his people, can not pick his own wife, then what does this popular love amount to?

## Planned Abundance

Regimentation in Peace

WALTER LIPPMANN IN The Atlantic Monthly

THE difficulty of planning production to satisfy many choices is the rock on which the whole conception of a planned econo-

my tounders

The question we must consider is whether a system which is essential to the conduct of war can be adapted to the civilian ideal of peace and plenty. At one stroke war extinguishes the difficulties of planning, cutting out from under the individual any moral ground as well as any lawful ground on which he might resist the execution of the official plan.

Anyone can imagine an enemy and hate him; but the concept of an abundant life is merely the beginning of an interminable argument. This is the reason, based on a deep psychological necessity, why the socialist propaganda has always relied more upon an appeal to class war than upon the vision of a socialist society.

The planners of war know definitely what goods are needed and in what amount. Though war economies are notoriously inefficient, they can be administered by the method

of overhead planning and control.

The question whether an economy can be planned for abundance, for the general welfare, for the improvement of the popular standard of life, comes down to the question of whether concepts of this sort can be translated into orders for particular goods which are as definite as the 'requisitions' of a general staff.

The fundamental characteristic of a rising standard of life is that an increasing portion of each man's income is spent on unessentials; it is applied, in other words, to things in which preference rather than necessity is the criterion. As productivity rises above the level of necessity the variety of choice is multiplied; and as choice is multiplied the possibility of an overhead calculation of the relation between

demand and supply diminishes.

By what formula could a planning authority determine which goods to provide against the purchases of thirty million families with seventy billions of free spendable income? Within limits, some narrow and others almost indefinitely elastic, more articles of one sort will be bought at a low price than at a high price. For even if we make the fantastic hypothesis that the planning authority could draw up reliable estimates of what the demand would be in all combinations of prices, for all the thousands of articles that Americans buy,

there is still no way of deciding which schedule would fit the

people's conception of the most abundant life.

The primary factor which makes civilian planning incalculable is the freedom of the people to spend their income. Planning is theoretically possible only if consumption is rationed. In military planning that is precisely what takes place: the authorities decide what the army shall consume and what of the national product shall be left for the civilians.

The inevitable and necessary complement of the rationing of consumption is the conscription of labor. If the people are free to reject the rations, the plan is frustrated; if they are free to work less or at occupations other than those pre-scribed, the plan cannot be executed. There is no way by which the objectives of a planned economy can be made to depend upon popular decision. The political premise of the whole collectivist philosophy is that the dictators will be patriotic or class-conscious.

Thus, by a kind of tragic irony, the search for security and rational society, if it seeks salvation through political authority, ends in the most irrational form of government imaginable—in the dictatorship of casual oligarchs, who have no hereditary title, no constitutional origin or responsibility, who

cannot be replaced except by violence.

# Weather Profit

The importance of a favorite topic

#### JAMES H. KIMBALL IN American Magazine

Some day, perhaps not far from now, a name will be written on the honor roll of science beside those of Galileo, Harvey, Newton, Pasteur, Edison, and Einstein, and beneath it will be this definition: "Discoverer of the First Dependable System of Long-Range Weather Forecasting." This man will become even more famous than those other great men; he will, in fact, be comparable only to Prometheus, the god who brought fire to the world.

For he will be responsible, among other things, for saving us from death and suffering by flood and starvation, hurri-cane, tornado, drought, and exposure. He will be responsible for making transportation by air, sea, and land as safe as sleep in a feather bed. He will be credited with saving our natural resources, preventing crop failure, lengthening our span of life, insuring our daily health, and deepening our happiness on earth. He will save us more money than has been minted in the whole history of mankind

In every weather bureau and meteorological laboratory in the world climatologists and meteorologists are experimenting with long-range forecasting. They are checking and re-checking weather trends, using the observations of 75 stations throughout the world (12 in the United States), and comparing what is charted at each part of the world with what is charted at other parts of the world three, six, and nine months later. At the international congress of these meteorologists and climatologists in Moscow last summer all reported the same lack of success. Their predictions were reasonably good for only forty-eight hours.

Nevertheless, in the last twenty years the science of forecasting has gone ahead in leaps and bounds. Radio, air-planes, and finally television have given us new eyes and fingers with which to see and feel the air and its clouds.

How do we get the information we give out? Into our offices every day come 250 weather reports: 150 from points in the United States, 75 from the Arctic and western Europe, and the rest from ships at sea. These are received at eight in the morning and eight at night, mostly by radio. At six o'clock in the morning we arrive at the office, study the developments since our departure the night before, and get to work on the map and report. At a few minutes before eleven o'clock the corridor outside is filled with office boys, from newspapers, shipping offices, business firms, and steamship and air lines. At eleven they are handed the maps and reports and scurry off with them. Then, for the rest of the day until midnight, we prepare and give out, by telephone and press and radio, the special forecasts that help fishermen, navigators, fruit and vegetable dealers, heating engineers, and the street-cleaning department.

And whenever there is a lull someone pops in with a subpoena that has been served him and says, "I want to show

that there was ice on the street on February 8."

# Managed Economy

Laissez-faire is on the run

#### HUGH S. JOHNSON IN The Consensus

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WE HAVE a kind of recovery. I have yet to hear the man who says it is not better than depression-but even its defenders must admit that it is full of artificialities and uncertainties. Just to mention a few: How can you call it com-plete recovery when there are eight or ten million, or whatever it is, without jobs? All such figures are mere guesses, but at the usual ratio of 4.4 people to each one gainfully employed, doesn't that mean that there are between 38 and 44 million people destitute or living just on a shoe string?

How long can that go on?

There are other jittery foundations to this recovery. When we devalued the dollar, we made it about 40 per cent easier for all foreigners to buy anything of which the price is made in our own markets by our own domestic competition. It didn't make it easier for foreigners to buy things like wheat and cotton where the price is made abroad—but it did tend very strongly to raise the prices of those things to our farmers, and both of these results had a whole lot more to do with our recovery than is generally realized. They poured hundreds of millions of dollars into this market, and the effect of every million was an artificial but a new and upward push to American recovery. These necessary things were nevertheless artificial.

The tremendous effort at rearmament in Europe has sustained our metal markets and lessened our competition, both from imports here and exports abroad. That can't last forever. Either it will explode in war with unpredictable

effects, or it will languish in a new reversal.

Just now, the surge of increased dividends and increased wages, due to undivided profits taxes, is another certain stimulus to business and buying which, because it is new, cannot be accurately guaged and, because it is imperfect, is

bound to be changed.

For good or ill, we are entering a managed economy. It may be wrong, but we are going to try it, and this time not because some starry-eyed professor says so but because the mass of people not only here, but in the whole world, think it is the thing to do—and because this is a democracy. We have always, in a sense, had a managed economy. The tariff was the most effective management of a national household that had ever been tried up to that time. After that, the government slowed up on its managing.

Concentration of economic power in industry has been increasing, especially in the post-war period. This concentration, among other things, has been accompanied by administered prices so that a drop in demand results, not in price readjustment, but in maintained prices and curtailment of production, thus throwing workers and machines out of employment and further reducing demand. Though efficiency of workers increased 18 per cent in the twenties, wholesale prices fell only somewhere around 1.4 points and workers received only about 40 per cent of the gain in purchasing power necessary for unimpeded operation of the plant.

This is not the free economy of the 18th century physiocrats. It is a highly managed economy. It is not the uncontrolled resultant of an infinite number of individual

greeds. It is the closely-held control of a few collective greeds. It is not a question of whether we shall have a

managed economy but of who shall manage it.

To me it seems that the rout of laissez-faire is rampant in the world, and that a reasonable retention of the ancient faith is far more likely in America than anywhere else on the globe. We face a fact accomplished and it is less than realistic to deny it. Yet, I think there is nothing to fear in

One thing I know of a certainty—there is no disposition in Washington to bullyrag, regiment, or manage business. There is not even any plan stewing for new white rabbits. There is only a disposition to rationalize, perfect, adjust, and make practical, constitutional, and legal the general aims

already disclosed and already attempted.

Business has a choice: to resist the irresistible and die in the last ditch, or to come out of the trenches, negotiate a prosperous peace, and march away with full military honors.

# Pagan Creed

A simpler faith is this

#### LIN YUTANG IN Forum

I AM A PAGAN. The statement may be taken to mean a revolt against Christianity; but because there was never any hatred, it would be impossible to speak of a rebellion. Born in a pastor's family and at one time preparing for the Christian ministry, I gradually arrived at a position where I had, for instance, definitely renounced the doctrine of redemption, a position which could most simply be described as that of a igan. It was and still is a condition of belief concerning life and the universe in which I feel natural and at ease, without having to be at war with myself. In Taoistic phrase-ology this is but to live in the tao, and in Western phraseology, it is but being sincere with oneself.

To be a pagan is no more than a negative statement, for

to the average reader to be a pagan means only that one is not a Christian. Worse happens when one defines a pagan as one who does not believe in religion or in God, for we have yet to define what is meant by "God" or by the "re-

ligious attitude toward life".

On the positive side a Chinese pagan is one who has a keen appreciation of the beautiful and the good in human life wherever he finds them, and regards doing good as its own satisfactory reward. I admit, however, he feels a slight pity or contempt for the "religious" man who does good in order to get to heaven and who, by implication, would not do good if he were not lured by heaven or threatened with hell. The modern liberal Christian and the pagan are really close, differing only when they start out to ialk about God.

The difference in spiritual life between a Christian believer and a pagan is simply this: The Christian believer lives in a world governed and watched over by God, to whom he has a constant personal relationship. His actual life varies between living on the human and the truly religious levels. On the other hand, the pagan lives in this world like an orphan. It is no doubt a less cheery world; but there is the benefit and dignity of being an orphan who by necessity has learned to be independent, to take care of himself, and to be more mature, as all orphans are. A pagan looks on that perhaps warmer and cheerier world as at the same time a more childish world, a more beautifully colored world but consequently less solidly true and therefore of less worth. There is a price one must be willing to pay for truth; whatever the consequences, let us have it. That is why I say it takes a little courage to become a pagan. But, after one has accepted the worst, one is also without fear. Peace of mind is that mental condition in which you have accepted the worst.

I might put the difference between a Christian and a pagan world like this: The pagan in me renounced Christianity out

of both emotional pride and intellectual humility. But more out of intellectual humility simply because I can no longer, with our astronomical knowledge, believe that an individual human being is so terribly important in the eyes of that great creator. What right have we to conceive of the character of a supreme being, of whose work we can see only a millionth

part, and to postulate about his attributes?

The importance of the human individual is undoubtedly one of the basic tenets of Christianity. Mankind as an aggregate may have a significant history, but man as an individual, in the words of Su Tungpo, is no more than a grain of millet in an ocean or an insect fuyu born in the morning and dying at eve, as compared with the universe. The Christian will not be humble. He will not be satisfied with the aggregate immortality of his great stream of life, of which he is already a part, flowing on to eternity, like a mighty stream which empties into the great sea and changes and yet does not change. He wants to live forever! And he will not let God alone! He wants God's sun to shine on Monday when he washes his babies' diapers and if he had his way he would want God to wash his diapers for him. It is all so clear to me now. The world of pagan belief is

a simpler belief. It postulates nothing and is obliged to postulate nothing. It seems to make the good life more immediately appealing by appealing to the good life alone. It better justifies doing good by making it unnecessary for doing good to justify itself. If one accepts the statement that doing good is its own justification, one cannot help regarding all theological baits to right living as redundant and tending

to cloud the luster of a moral truth.

Christianity seems to me to make morality appear unnecessarily difficult and complicated and sin appear tempting, natural, and desirable. Paganism, on the other hand, seems alone to be able to rescue religion from theology and restore it to its beautiful simplicity of belief and dignity of feeling. Only by a return to paganism and renouncing the revelation can one return to primitive (and for me more satisfying)

It is wrong therefore to speak of a pagan as an irreligious man: irreligious he is only as one who refuses to believe in any special variety of revelation. A pagan always believes in God but would not like to say so, for fear of being misunderstood. The Chinese pagan is honest enough to leave the Creator of Things in a halo of mystery, toward whom he feels a kind of awed piety and reverence. He accepts death as he accepts pain and suffering and weighs them against the gift of life and the fresh country breeze and the clear mountain moon and he does not complain. He regards bending to the will of heaven as the truly religious and pious attitude and calls it "living in the tao".

#### **Prowlers**

The etiquette of scaring burglars

#### A REFORMED PROWLER IN Cosmopolitan

FOR TWENTY YEARS nighttime, daylight and dinner-hour prowlers have killed an average of eight hundred men and women, and quite a few children, between December first and March thirty-first, the open season for these most dan-

The nighttime desperado is seldom caught by the police, chiefly because he is rarely seen entering or leaving a house. He's a lone worker and never leaves any telltale fingerprints behind him. He calls when you're not expecting him, as all burglars do, and he shoots at the drop of a hat if you try to

Let me tell you what I would do if I discovered a prowler. Upon hearing one of my old associates in my home, I would gently arouse my wife and four children, after I had locked the bedroom door, lead them over to the window and urge them to shout at the top of their voices, "Police! Murder!

Burglars!"

That stunt will give any prowler the willies, believe me. If you women only knew what one of your hysterical high C's does to a prowler you wouldn't be a bit nervous when the boss leaves you alone at night. All prowlers are afraid

But the foregoing advice, I hasten to add, does not apply if the prowler is working on your bedroom floor. It applies only when he is on the floor below or above you. If he's in your bedroom, lie still. He will leave when he has lassoed your valuables. If he's in an adjoining room and you can get to your bedroom door and lock yourself in, do so; then go to your window and scream your head off.

# Cooperatives at Odds

Consumer and producer seek opposing ends

#### E.D. HALIBURTON IN The Dalhousie Review, HALIFAX

IT IS NOT generally appreciated that there is a wide gulf between the two common forms of coöperatives, between the consumer and the producer types of such organization. The purpose of the first is always to supply goods to its members as cheaply as possible, eliminating profits or rebating them according to purchases; the purpose of the second is to sell the goods of its members to the best possible advantage. Their aims are thus diametrically opposed. Every degree of combination among buyers gives them added purchasing power. But no such power accrues to sellers, simply because they have combined. They must still meet the prices at which competitors are offering their product.

A producers' coöperative is of value in assembling a primary product, packing it uniformly, storing and shipping it to better advantage than would be possible if its members acted individually. In other words, it takes the place of a "dealer" or assumes the function of a middleman. Such an organization, even though well managed, starting without capital, often fails to acquire any, so that it continues to operate under the handicap of a large overhead which nullifies much or all of the advantage otherwise secured.

In view of all this, it is rather difficult to understand the attitude of government officials, the press, the clergy and publicists generally, who seem under the impression that they are bound to be ardent supporters of any producers' cooperative to be mooted in their sphere of influence. It is significant that no word of warning is ever uttered as to the shoals which may lie ahead. In fact the fertile valleys of the United States and Canada are strewn with the wrecks of cooperatives which were floated on a high tide of enthusiasm and expectation worked up by high pressure oratory, filled with glowing promises, and the support of government agencies.

It may be that the popularity already referred to, of producer cooperatives, is due largely to the much cited example of Denmark. Of course the term "producers' coöperative" is almost synonymous with "farm coöperative". We hear so much about Denmark in this connection that we hardly dare to dispute the thesis that we can repeat the rural achievement of that country if only our farmers will duplicate her cooperatives. Any such reasoning is based on a promise containing only a germ of truth. For example, coöperatives did not give Denmark her supremacy in the butter markets of the world, although they helped her to attain this position.

Coöperation in Denmark is not so much a cause as a result. The movement grew out of the forces which have carried agriculture, in that country, to a level which sets a high mark for the world, but it did not initiate those forces.

It is well to remember that the first coöperatives in Denmark were of the consumer type. Group buying is a natural corollary of community effort. And the Rochdale weavers

had long set them an example. The tendency is to advertise producers' coöperatives and ignore consumers' coöperatives. These last seek to eliminate profit. But the members of pro-

ducer organizations have no quarrel with the profit system.

The consumers' cooperative wants to eliminate profits all along the line, since its whole object is to supply the wants of its members as cheaply as possible. So ultimately such an organization reaches out, not to make a contact with a producers' organization, but actually to become a producer itself. Thus the Coöperative Wholesale Society owns and operates thousands of acres of farm land in England, Western Canada, and the East. In short, this powerful cooperative does not seem to make a practice of meeting producers' cooperatives;

on the contrary, it eliminates them.

But in spite of their success in Europe, consumer societies have never made much headway on this side the Atlantic. Most of the cooperative effort has taken the form of producer societies. Sticking together in groups, for the sole purpose of keeping somebody from making a profit on the sale of herrings or bacon, betokens a class consciousness and habit of domestic economy generally lacking in the New World, where people do not feel that they are bound to stay in any place, in any class or in any category. The American housewife would be less likely to stay in line because of a nebulous coöperative dividend promised six months hence, if the store around the corner offered eggs at one cent per dozen less.

## Public Domain

Labor wants controlled radio

#### EDWARD N. NOCKELS IN American Federationist

IN THIS country Congress has permitted private interests to use broadcast facilities but wrote into law certain provisions to guide the Federal Communications Commission in the allocation of those facilities. It provided, first, that the Commission could grant licenses only for limited periods of time; second, that the Commission should grant licenses and renewals of licenses only in accordance with the public interest, convenience, and necessity.

What is the public interest, convenience, and necessity? It is that which contributes to the health, comfort, and happiness of the people. It is that which provides wholesome entertainment, increases knowledge, arouses individual thinking, inspires noble impulses, strengthens human ties, breaks down hatred, encourages respect for law. It is that which aids employment, improves the standard of living, and adds

to the peace and contentment of mankind.

The public interest, convenience, and necessity is nation-wide. It is age long. It has to do with the physical, mental, moral, social, and economic welfare of all the people. It is not enhanced by the granting of special favors to a few individuals or corporations, however large and powerful they may be. The great things of civilization are not sob songs, nor symphony orchestras. They are matters that have to do with employment, home life, health, standard of living, great economic and industrial problems that enter into the web and woof of the existence of all the people. To serve the public interest, radio must pour into the homes of the nation not only entertainment, but something that will help solve the practical problems of every day life.

Will the public interest be served by granting all the channels of communication to those who do the employing and denying even one cleared channel of communication to

the vast groups of employees?

What has been the result in the broadcast field? Of the forty cleared channels an analysis today shows that National Broadcasting Company, now 100 per cent owned by Radio Corporation of America, owns or controls eleven 50,000 watt stations. The Columbia Broadcasting System now owns or controls seven 50,000 and one 10,000 watt stations.

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As the situation stands today, the networks control more than 50 percent of the total facilities now available on cleared channel assignments. Is that in the public interest?

Labor is opposed to the authorization of any additional 50,000 watt stations in America for the reason that such authorizations are contrary to the public interest and directly opposed to the fundamental principle of accomplishing the greatest good for the greatest number. Any further authorization of super power stations would be directly in line with the erroneous and much to be regretted policy in the first allocation of wave lengths, which amounted to nothing more or less than the cutting of a monstrous melon into forty luscious slices.

If a few radio stations in America are given the right to use power to the extent to which they now demand, they will to all intents and purposes drown out many other sta-

tions in America.

The cost of these super power stations, both to build and to operate, is so large that the only way to maintain them is to increase advertising rates and thereby load down their programs with more and more advertising.

# Longer Life

The Secret of Methuselah

#### GEORGE W. GRAY IN Harper's Magazine

FROM early philosophers, down through astrologers and alchemists, the idea of medicines of longevity has come at last to the test of the research laboratory which calmly experiments.

The accidents to which human bodies are liable range all the way from encounters with automobiles to encounters with germs. It appears that most young people in their twenties and thirties, and those whose lives were just beginning at forty, die of diseases of organs exposed to contacts with the outer world-presumably a considerable proportion are victims of chance encounters with germs and other accidents; while the ninety-year-olds, with stronger constitutions or greater immunity or better luck, resist these external foes only to die at last from failure within.

Do organs irrevocably wear out? Or, is organic failure itself an accident, the result of conditions that might be remedied if we knew their causes? These questions suggest two radically different theories of the aging process.

That there is an inherent constitutional endowment, an inborn capacity for longevity, has long been accepted on the

evidence of human statistics.

The subject of diets and their probable influence on length of life has been a topic of speculation through the years, both before and since Francis Bacon proclaimed his dictum: "The cure of diseases requires temporary medicines, but longevity

is to be procured by diets."

At Columbia University, Henry C. Sherman and his associate Harriet L. Campbell have been investigating dietary effects to determine the ingredients of food that contribute to length of life. They have found unmistakable evidence that calcium is a factor, and vitamins A and G are also indicated as probable factors. The experiments are still under way; but the results already attained are so convincing to Dr. Sherman that he is applying them in his own eating. He believes that by including in the daily diet of a lifetime a liberal allowance of food rich in calcium and the two vitamins, six or seven years of effective life may be added to "the prime"

Milk is a fluid of exceeding complexity. It embodies proteins, carbohydrates, fats, all the known vitamins, and several mineral elements, including calcium. The vitamins, A and G, and to a lesser extent the calcium, are present in fresh fruits and vegetables. Dr. Sherman, therefore, advises those who aspire to long life to make these three foods important members of their daily diet. As a practical formula for insuring ample portions of the longevity factors, he suggests

that at least one-fifth of the food budget be spent on milk and cream, and not less than one-fifth on fresh fruits and

green vegetables.

There is another approach to this problem. We observe that certain forms of life never grow senile. A bacterium may die by accident, but never, so far as we know, from old age. It is our complexity that dooms us: the multiplicity of specialized mechanisms that must be in step, in synchronization, continually interacting in the complicated teamwork of interdependent organs. No one dies of old age—it is the failure of a gland to secrete an indispensable hormone at a critical moment, the drying of the tissues, the heightening of blood pressure, the thickening and hardening of arteries. Nor is it only the veterans of eighty and beyond that are victims of these diseases.

It may be, as Max Rubner has suggested, that length of life is a function of evolution. Dr. Rubner made a study of the metabolism of a wide range of organisms and found a certain ratio existing between the size and metabolic rate of animals and their characteristic life span. But when he came to man, the ratio was quite different. It would seem that man has attained a superior position in the race with time. If haphazard evolution has done that much for us, what might be accomplished if man took the all-important busi-

ness of evolution into his own hands?

But possibly in our groping experiments to-day we are laying the foundations. In the search for a Methuselah formula many clues must be sifted. The aging process needs to be studied with something of the comprehension that has focussed on the processes of growth.

#### Insect Pests

Science mobilizes for a great campaign

#### GROVER C. MUELLER IN Popular Science Monthly

PARASITES numbering in the quadrillions, some so tiny that they cannot be seen by the naked eye, are being marshaled by science on a hundred fronts in a dramatic war of extermination. Their enemies are other insects which infest lemon and orange trees and cause millions of dollars worth of damage every year.

Scientists comb the world for parasites which will destroy harmful insects. Scale insects—black, red, purple, gray, and -white flies, rust mites, and citrus mites are the principle offenders. From the Fiji Islands, South America, Africa, Australia, and the Orient come the shock troops which are saving the citrus industry of Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, Arizona, and California from destruction.

Those that attack scale insects are carnivorous and, like other members of the wasp family, have stingers. In countless numbers, they swarm through citrus trees, back up against the scale insects, sting them, and deposit eggs within their bodies. A few hours later the eggs hatch, and the larvae feed on the internal fluids and consume the vital organs. One parasite will lay from fifty to 5,000 eggs, usually one in each host, though sometimes several eggs will be deposited

under a single shell.

Science's attacks on insects do not end in the laboratory, nor are they confined to setting parasites on host insects. Poison powders, sprays, and war gases—phosgene, arsine, and mustard—have been set to work with deadly effect.

Where these fail, stomach insecticides are applied.

Sometimes the insects build up a resistance to one form of poison. For several years, fumigation proved satisfactory to kill most scale insects, but after three decades growers in one southern California district reported red scale increasing despite their efforts to beat it back. Professor Quayle, of the University of California's Citrus Experiment Station, went into the orange and lemon groves, ordered the dosage increased, but found the insects withstood even the heaviest

application. He took infested lemons and oranges to Riverside, fumigated them again, and found that he could not kill the little animals unless he applied so much poison gas that it

would destroy the trees as well as the insects.

By gassing the scale insects, he soon found, science actually was building up a hardier race, since only the weak perished and the strong survived. Gas after gas was tried, until today only the deadly hydrocyanic gas is employed. Others, of the types used in war, proved useless, since they hung close to the ground. Only hydrocyanic was found neutral to the tree but

deadly to the scale.

Sometimes the use of parasitic armies has unlooked-for results. Millions of parasites may be released in orchards, only to disappear, victims of an unfavorable climate. Again, they may multiply in staggering numbers. Recently, all the parasites planted in one western orchard disappeared. Investigation showed that they were all females. Not being fertilized, they naturally failed to produce a second generation. Now, precautions are taken to see that both males and females are included. Male eggs, it has been found, do not develop until female eggs are laid in the same insect. Even here, the male eggs will remain dormant until the females are full grown, for the female can breathe liquids, while her mate needs air. When, finally, the female releases the male, he eats her for her pains. Even the sexes are being changed in this strange battle of science. When provided with only half the amount of food they require, female larvae become males.

# Reading Aloud

The renaissance of an ancient art

GEOFFREY FABER IN The Manchester Guardian

To anybody of a reflective turn of mind who depends upon books for his living it has been a surprise to discover how well books have held their own against all the new ways of passing time which the twentieth century has invented.

In point of fact reading is much more than holding its own. The number of books published every year has risen, and is continuing to rise. There are signs, indeed, that the supply is beginning seriously to outrun the demand, but there can be no possible doubt that the demand has itself grown enormously. It has, moreover, with the spread of education, widened out into classes which used to care little for books of any kind.

It would seem that the ordinary human imagination, however unsophisticated, needs a field in which it will be stimulated to exercise itself. The escape into the ready-made world of the motion picture, glamorous and exciting though it may be, does not meet this need, nor can any form of entertainment in which the entertainer does all the work.

Here lies the main secret of the increasing popularity of books. For it is the peculiar virtue of a book that it cannot be read at all unless it compels the reader to exercise such imagination as he has. And so strong is the pleasure he gets from this stimulant that for the sake of it he performs, without consciousness of effort, an intellectual feat of almost indescribable complexity. The philosopher reading a metaphysical treatise is, if you consider the matter closely, a much less remarkable phenomenon than an errand-boy engrossed in a "penny dreadful".

This unique pleasure is only to be got nowadays by reading to oneself. But in theory, and in past and possibly in future practice, it is equally obtainable by listening. In the dawn of literature and in primitive societies the story is told or sung. We lettered Western nations had largely forgotten how to listen. But only because the invention of printing doomed the arts of story-telling, of ballad-making, of minstrelsy. And it was not until the use of printing had been developed to the point when cheap reading matter was uni-

versally obtainable that the oldest of human arts—the art of the story-teller as distinct from the art of the story-writer finally faded almost out of existence, together with the secondary arts of reciting or reading aloud.

To listen is, in fact, easier than to read. The spoken lecture is still the most universal instrument of education; the preacher is still the most influential persuader of men's consciences. Even more significant is the mastery of rhetoric which characterises our modern dictators, and the use which they make of the wireless to bring their speeches to the ears of the people.

What is it that makes a good reader? Certainly not elocutionary training; for of all arts that of reading aloud is the most intimate and personal. The voice of the reader must, to begin with, have certain qualities. It must not be monotonous. It must be capable, without effort, of natural variation in pitch and tone. It must have timbre—it must

in itself be a pleasant noise.

Far more important are the mental qualities of the reader. Perhaps the first of these is the faculty of using his voice as if what he is saying were being said for the first time. The vast majority of public readers (particularly those who are trained elocutionists) break down before this test; they fail to manipulate their voices with the necessary naturalness—you know either that they have too carefully calculated the effects they wish to produce, or that they are being taken by surprise by the text before them.

The voice of the reader must follow the changes of thought, emotion, action, and person. Yet it must not follow them too far. If it does so, the reader is attempting to do the listener's work. The upper dramatic limit can, nevertheless, vary greatly, according to the reader.

The finest reader I have ever heard was the eighty-yearold chaplain of an Oxford college. The variations of tone which he used were extraordinarily wide, and they were most beautiful and moving. For this reason I am shy to limit the dramatic possibilities of reading aloud. Yet I am sure of one fact—namely, that this eloquent variation of pitch and tone must not attempt to mimic the persons of a tale; it must be the expression of the reader's own emotions.

## The Zionist Cause

The case for the Jews

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN IN The Christian Century

THE urgency behind the Zionist movement springs from the utter hopelessness of Jewish life in central and eastern Europe. For these European Jews there is only one hope: Palestine. The population has steadily increased until at present over four hundred thousand Jews dwell there. Experts have estimated that through the development of modern industry and intensive agriculture over three million Jews could be settled in the course of time.

The history of the Palestine labor movement is an epic. As far back as fifty years ago, long before the Balfour Declaration, many Zionists realized that the only hope for building a healthy national life in Palestine was through Jewish labor. The movement received its greatest impetus from the establishment of the coöperative-collective movement twenty-six years ago. Many of the young Jews who came to Palestine were inspired by the Hebrew prophets and by Russian social-

sm. They established the collective.

Today the labor group is the most influential element in Palestine and numbers a third of the population in its membership. It has established the eight hour day, unemployment and sickness insurance, and decent working conditions, which were never even dreamed of in Palestine before it came. It has established hospitals, schools, and technical institutes. Jewish hospitals and educational institutions have been opened to Arabs. Jewish taxes support Arab schools

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and other institutions. There is no doubt that the Jews have improved the conditions of life for the Arab masses.

Consider the charge that Jewish labor will not permit Arab labor to be employed on Jewish enterprises. It must be remembered that Arabs and Christians do not employ Jews because Jewish labor is more expensive, more independent and better organized than Arab. By insisting on its rights Jewish labor has improved rather than retarded the condition of Arab labor.

In any event, the Arab population in Palestine has increased by three hundred thousand, approximately 50 per cent, and its income, as Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons, has trebled and quadrupled during the period of Zionist immigration. If the Jews were content to be a minority and would suspend immigration and land purchases, they could work out a satisfactory relationship with the Arabs.

they could work out a satisfactory relationship with the Arabs.

Why shouldn't the Jews accept these conditions? First, because of those millions of homeless, unhappy, oppressed Jews of Europe. Second, the freezing of the status quo will mean that Palestine will be for the Jews another ghetto, nothing more. Third, Palestine is not overpopulated but underpopulated. Its present total population is only about 1,300,000. Fourth is the fact that Palestine is but a tiny fragment of the land presessed by the Arabs.

fragment of the land possessed by the Arabs.

Although it is difficult to predict what the ultimate outcome will be, my conjecture is that the combination of British imperial self-interest, Arab economic self-interest and Jewish necessary self-interest will enable the Jews with some compromises to continue the building of the national home in Palestine. The Jews of Palestine are fighting for the very life of their people and they will not yield except to death. There is no fundamental reason why Jews, Arabs and Christians cannot dwell together amicably in Palestine under the British mandate.

## Snake Meat

From coil to can

#### FROM THE Express Messenger

Down in Florida one afternoon a few years ago, a farmer in an experimental frame of mind decided to cook the white, glistening flesh of a rattlesnake. To his surprise he found the cooked product not merely edible, but delicious!

Then, to be certain that his own taste was in good taste, this Florida snake-eating pioneer, George K. End, served some of his novel food to American Legionnaires convening in a nearby city. The veterans of "40 and 8" days found Mr. End's snake snacks to their liking, and presently newspapers all over the land were recording the details of this latest food fad.

Thus began the Floridian Products Corporation at Arcadia, Florida, a concern that catches, kills, and cooks Diamondback rattlesnakes, and which in the four years of its existence has

developed into a profitable enterprise.

To support his contention that snake meat should be enjoyed by all, Mr. End is fond of quoting from that pioneer classic, "The Swiss Family Robinson", wherein Father Robinson tells his family "that the flesh of even poisonous snakes can be eaten without danger; as, for instance, the rattlesnake from which can be made a strong and nourishing soup tasting very like good chicken broth."

The poison glands of the rattlesnake are situated in the head and have no connection with the carcass from which the edible meat is derived. Therefore when the head is removed in the slaughtering of the snake, the remainder of the body

can be utilized with safety.

The rattlesnake is one of Nature's cleanest creatures, according to Mr. End. "A rattler eats nothing but live, warmblooded food, in Florida principally cottontail rabbits. He eats nothing aquatic, not even a frog. Compare his discrimi-

nating diet with that of a hog or of a chicken! A hog, for instance, will eat many things that a rattler wouldn't even crawl over!"

The Floridian Product plant is located on the edge of the Florida prairie frontier, which is said to contain more big Diamondbacks than any other comparable area in the United States. Experienced snake men go out on the prairie and hunt the snakes down in their natural habitat—palmetto thickets. They catch the snakes by slipping a steel hook, attached to the end of a six-foot pole, through the center of their coils. The hunters consider 20 snakes a good day's catch.

After the snakes are captured they are placed in pens built on automobile trucks and are hauled back to the plant at Arcadia, where they are "milked" for their venom and held for slaughter. On specified slaughter days, the rattlers are decapitated and the carcasses are hung up to bleed thoroughly. After four or five hours, the snakes are skinned and the carcasses are prepared for canning along the latest and most

scientific lines.

# Outlook in Retrospect

Preventive medicine for business

#### WILLARD L. THORP IN Management Review

THERE appears to be little disagreement over the fact that the long-prophesied business recovery is here. The various indexes which are used to depict business conditions give clear evidence of a strong business upswing. Production, employment, and retail trade all not only made fine records of improvement in the spring, but did not record the summer slump which has become almost an accepted part of our business pattern. Business failures, except for a few months in 1919, have not been lower in forty years. And business profits have shown a striking increase according to recent

quarterly figures.

This broad description is by no means an accurate picture of the many sub-divisions which go to make up the total. As might have been expected, the greatest gains (in percentages) have been made by the industries whose volume was most curtailed in the depression. Thus construction has revived somewhat, and the industries which produce building supplies show an extraordinary increase, when measured against a base which was very close to zero. The same sort of variation shows itself in consumers' goods. Those items which were most seriously curtailed, chiefly the so-called consumers' durable goods, such as radios, refrigerators, and house furnishings, now show the greatest recovery. But variations of improvement appear even in the various branches of the clothing trades.

These many differences within the business structure might, of course, be interpreted to mean that we are rapidly getting out of balance again, but a careful examination does not support this view. Rather, we seem to be in a quite healthy condition as far as current business activity is concerned, although the national budget, the prolonged advance in the stock market, and the problems of labor, both employed and unemployed, are strong reminders that our difficulties, present and potential, are not all eliminated. The commodity price structure, which was so badly out of balance, appears to have returned to something like its earlier form, agricultural and raw material prices having risen more than prices of manufactured commodities. The banks have adequate resources for loans. The prospects for foreign trade are rapidly improving. And the national income has shown a steady advance for many months.

In view of this pleasant picture, it is decidedly unpopular to advise business men to proceed with caution. But it can do no harm to recall that if depression is around the corner behind us, it is also around the next corner in the future. Let us hope that it will be farther away than the last corner proved to be when it first began to appear in prophecy, but there are no good grounds for assurance that it is not there. Already there is evidence in isolated spots of the appearance of a "boom psychology". With expanding consumer purchasing power, interest rates low, and six years of enforced consumer economy behind us, some are seeing no limit to the current upswing. They are impressed by the fact that durable goods and luxury goods are recording extraordinary percentage increases, and that the stock market has risen for many months. There is danger that we are headed for what a British professor calls "a period of optimistic error".

It needs little argument to demonstrate that the problems of prosperity are more difficult than those of depression. Tests of real character are usually more severe under favorable than adverse conditions. Carelessness and waste are creatures of profitable times, not of depressions. I know no condition which is more dangerous for a business than a period of sustained high profits. Depression does not offer all those attractive invitations for expansion that prosperity provides. Furthermore, those who urge caution are scorned as unpatriotic or disloyal.

The temptations of prosperity fall, of course, on the manager. The prevention of excesses is his job. As in the period of optimistic error which characterized the latter twenties, there will be alluring demands for expansion—expansion warranted only by the easy profits of the day, heedless of the prospects of the longer term. In the face of such pressure, the manager must be mindful of the threat of the next depression.

For business in general, the problem of recovery should be replaced by the problem of maintaining business health. Industry programs must have that as their new objective. And those larger organizations which cut across industry lines, must concern themselves with ways and means for prolonging the prosperity period.

prolonging the prosperity period.

Probably the best resolve that managers can make today is that depression-created economies will not be too easily discarded, and that easing profits will not be permitted to create a fatal sense of luxury and business security.

# England, Beware

A German Warning to John Bull

FROM Boersen-Zeitung

THE timely publication of the text of the German-Japanese agreement against bolshevism has rather taken the wind out of the sails of those who tried to create a sensation by declaring that it was aimed against England. Nevertheless, the Treaty continues to be misused to this end, especially in Soviet and French circles. Soviet Russia acts as though the matter concerned it less than the English.

In Paris, where they just can't conceive a treaty which is not bolstered up with provisions of a military nature, giving it the character of an alliance, speculation is rife as to the English interests which are affected and to the English disinclination to divide the world into ideological camps. Yet, rather naively, they at the same time speculate on the possibility of forming a bloc of the "three great democracies," England, France and America, with the ulterior motive of admitting their Russian ally to this exclusive club through the back door.

Even if such speculations are but coolly received in England, there are nevertheless thin spots in the English wiring-system which might lead to political short circuits. With their feeling of insular security, with nerves fortified by prosperity and a relatively intact social equilibrium, the English believe that bolshevism can be considered as something which can be restrained both internally and externally, and made part of the diplomatic game.

In certain circles there is a tendency to flirt with it. Even

the coolest heads in the Foreign Office cannot say whether bolshevism will not soon compel England as well to make a clear decision. We Germans in any case must keep to the facts: the facts are the bolshevik experiments on German territory.

It is a fact that today not only leaflets and other propaganda, but also ships, planes, munitions, and bolshevist troops are ceaselessly entering Spain and that the Soviet republic of Barcelona is a fait accompli which cannot be overlooked—not even by England. It is also a fact that Bolshevism, with the aid of its Marxist and other confederates, has just succeeded in obtaining the Nobel Peace Prize for a German traitor, thereby challenging the Reich.

The arrest and conviction of Germans in Russia are facts. The Moscow broadcasts, which take place every evening in all languages and call to revolution, are facts. So are for China and Japan the Communistic armies and civil wars, which for fifteen years have laid waste the Far East. But what are facts for the Japanese and ourselves today may tomorrow be a reality for England and for every country which bears responsibility for hundreds of millions of Asiatic subjects and does not want them one day to rise in bloody revolt, seduced and armed by Communism.

# Prospects of War

A British general's plea for peace

A. C. TEMPERLEY IN World Review

THE present international situation is a tragic contrast to the high hopes in 1919 of an era of peace. It had been, in the minds of countless soldiers who fought and died, a "war to end war". A universal demand arose both from the victors and the vanquished, who were sick of the slaughter and exhausted by the strain, that some other means than the sword should be found for settling disputes. The most promising method seemed to be that of reduction of armaments to a defensive level and a mutually guaranteed security, strong enough to defeat any breaker of the peace.

In the last two years the whole world has been re-arming. I will not go into a lot of detailed figures; those that I give are a sufficient indication. The Red Army is now 1,300,000 men owing to lowering the recruiting age from 21 to 19: The number of aeroplanes that Russia is said to possess is 5,000, and she probably has 10,000 tanks. Germany has a formidable air force of about 1,000 or more machines. France a year ago raised her period of service to two years. We do not know the extent of the Italian rearmament, but a year ago Signor Mussolini declared that he had a million men under arms, while there were half a million locked up in Abyssinia. No doubt there has been since then a good deal of demobilization, but the trained men remain available. A large programme of rearmament has recently been announced. Japan's military budget is almost exactly double that of 1932, and the U.S.A.'s has increased this year by a large amount. Even such pacific small Powers as Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian States are spending more money and increasing their armed forces.

Anxious statesmen undoubtedly consider that by re-arming greater security is being obtained. Yet it is a paradox that, if all states increase their armaments in roughly the same proportion, the relative security of each has not changed at all, except possibly for the worse. Dictators are re-arming because they desire to alter the balance of armaments to their advantage and then to use war or threat of it as an instrument of policy. But this only calls forth fresh efforts in turn from the countries that believe themselves menaced, and so the race goes on. A sudden spurt may give a temporary advantage and, as the pressure increases, this may be used as the moment to strike.

Re-arming has become a psychological condition. We are back to the law of the jungle where every country is trying to make itself as safe as armaments can make it and is terrified of being left behind in the race. Small countries like Holland or Switzerland can make no conceivable addition to their armed strength that would make the difference between victory and defeat or deter a Great Power from invading them, if it were thought worth while. Yet they are determined to do their best to make the aggressor pay as great a price as possible. Indeed, to go further, are the U.S.S.R. or Germany a whit more secure for the prodigious efforts that they have made? Financially they are certainly much poorer and each is honestly afraid of the other.

The old refuge of despots is to seek an exit from an intolerable internal situation by means of the promise of conquest. The breaking strain may come before long in several countries. I do not believe that armaments of themselves bring war but, when the financial pressure to pay for them becomes too great, there may be no other alternative. The bogus boom resulting from re-armament must come to an end, as it is doing in Germany today, and even to such a well disciplined people the strain may become intolerable.

well disciplined people the strain may become intolerable.

There is in the minds of many people one factor about a future war which may prove decisive. Are the people of the generation that knew the last war prepared to fight again if called upon? Presumably men of military age will respond

to the call to defend their own countries but will, for instance, the Frenchman march if Russia is attacked, will the Russian fight for Austria, or will either fight for Czechoslovakia or the Polish Corridor? In the totalitarian States the people are peculiarly subject to mass propaganda and to appeals to patriotism. Will they march blindly to wars of conquest at the behest of their leaders? No one can answer these questions, but it is upon them that, in the last analysis, the probability of war depends.

Is there any solution to this imminent peril? War is on the lips of everyone; is there any way out? The League has temporarily broken down and it is mere cant to talk of basing one's policy upon it or collective security, for it does not exist today. No country will join in economic sanctions for a very long time to come and none will fight unless their vital interests are threatened. A Western Pact would do much, particularly if coupled with a genuine air limitation, though regional pacts are not an ideal solution. A bolder course would be an "all-in" Conference between the "haves" and the "have-nots" where frontiers, colonies, trade barriers, raw materials, currencies and some degree of an armaments limitation could all be frankly discussed. It would require most patient diplomacy even to get it to meet, yet there seems in a distracted world to be no other alternative but a war, which nobody in Europe really wants and which can only end in ruin.

# or so they say

JUSTICE BRANDEIS: renders a decision

"Behind every argument is somebody's ignorance."

EMIL LUDWIG: analyzes dictators

"Mussolini is a realist who thinks critically; Hitler believes all the nonsense he utters."

TERRE HAUTE "STAR": looks at sexism

"All the world loves a lover, until he complicates the parking problem."

MATHEW NORDSTROM: maligns Manhattan

"Pigeon-holed in a tiny cocoon in the vastness of an office-building, the New Yorker considers himself lord of the universe."

EX-PREMIER BENNETT: Ottawa statesman

"Canada is not equipped even to maintain neutrality!"

JOHN BASSETT: Canadian newsman

"As car-loadings go down, the importance of editorial columns goes up."

BASIL ZAHAROFF: late munitions king

"Peace is a psychological condition."

THE GREAT GANDHI: registers humility

"My humble role is that of a scavenger, both literally and spiritually."

ANTHONY EDEN: British foreign minister

"I think 1937 will perhaps decide the future of our civilization."

DR. J. B. NASH: talks turkey

"It takes a highly intellectual individual to enjoy leisure; most of us had better count on working."

STEPHEN LEACOCK: laughing professor

"I have doctors' degrees of all kinds except the real ones—medical and horse."

HARRY ELMER BARNES: anti-money bags?

"Capitalism can be sustained under representative government *only* through increasing mass purchasing-power."

BERTRAND RUSSELL: in re, brain-trusting

"Reason, like conscience, is an anarchic force not easily manipulated by politicians or military leaders."

BERNARD BARUCH: knows his economics

"The barbaric sweating of labor can jump any tariff wall, or undermine any currency stabilization."

R. J. DEACHMAN: business is bad

"Houdini used to take rabbits out of his hat, but he never made his living by selling the rabbits."

# Business and Finance

Recovery Rise
FROM Westminster Bank Review
LONDON

THE present rise towards recovery, appears to be largely based on expansion of genuine commercial demands, including the demand for re-stocking purposes, and for that reason it may be sounder than its predecessors, in which the speculative element was relatively more prominent.

In some cases, of course, the recent advances have carried prices to levels which current statistical positions cannot justify, and to that extent the upward movement is not without its dangers and has raised the fear that sharp setbacks may follow. On the whole the recovery in commodities seems to have firm foundations on this occasion, encouraging hopes that it may prove of a lasting character.

It has long been recognized that one of the most serious aspects of the depression was the discrepancies which were created between different sets of prices, one example being the much greater fall in raw material prices than in those of manufactured goods. The recovery in raw materials is not an unmixed blessing, for it may tend to reduce manufacturing profits, but in so far as it will help to redress the balance between prices in these two categories it should be welcomed.

Apart from higher prices, however, many raw material producers are benefiting from an increased rate of production. Their earnings have thus doubly improved, and the persistent contraction of purchasing power of the primary producing areas, which has been one of the most important factors preventing the restoration of international trade, is being corrected.

# Railroad Equipment FROM Young Management Corporation Report

BARRING a severe setback this year through higher railroad labor costs, the combination of circumstances, which find the railroads with an exceptionally large amount of old and obsolete equipment at a time of increasing traffic levels and at a time that changing ideas of service are producing demands for new types of passenger equipment and locomotives, may bring the railroad equipment industry in the next year or so at least back to what is considered normal. Furthermore, the railroads are rapid-

ly returning to their former practice of budgeting their expenditures as an aid to an orderly development of their properties. Based on the budgets submitted to the Railway Age, indications are for a 20% increase in expenditures. These increases will go for equipment and roadway alike, although equipment will show a larger increase, probably more than 25%, whereas roadway will receive between 10% and 15%. Every branch of the railway supply industry should feel the impetus of these enlarged programs. Some branches of the equipment industry will probably fare better than others. The division of the trade that contributes directly to new high-speed passenger service should also derive substantial earnings improvement.

In the freight car building branch of the industry, it is understood that profit margins have not been entirely satisfactory in some regards due principally to price cutting on the part of some producers. It is believed that these conditions will remedy themselves with any appreciable increase in orders. In other words the smaller companies are reported to be pretty well booked, and acceptance of additional orders of any size might render scheduled deliveries difficult.

#### British Labor

#### FROM Standard Trade and Securities

THE enlightened labor viewpoint in Great Britain is the result of more than a century of experiment with legislation. In the early history of industrialized England, labor unions were outlawed, and such societies existed as secret bodies. Finally, in 1927, the Trades Disputes and Trade Unions Act was passed.

One of the most drastic provisions of this law is that which prohibits "sympathetic" strikes. The Act provides that any strike is illegal if it (1) "has any object other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged; and (2) is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community."

Another highly important provision restricts picketing. The law also provides that no person who refuses to take part in an illegal strike may be expelled from any trade union or society, be fined, or be deprived of any right because of such refusal.

The raising of funds for political

purposes is not prohibited, but the law provides that no member of a union may be called upon to make such contributions unless he has delivered to the union notice in writing of his willingness to do so.

The law further provides that municipal employes may not break a contract of service if such action might cause injury, danger, or grave inconvenience to the community.

British employers recognize that employe organization is inevitable; hence, union activities are not fought. An entire employer group in an industry will bargain with the workers of their industry. The length of the working period is covered by law only where questions of public health are concerned, and regulations covering wages apply only to a limited extent in industries where public policy is concerned.

Realizing the right of the worker to bargain for better terms, management has permitted organizers to proceed but has countered the movement with a similar organization among itself.

There is no provision for compulsory collective bargaining under English law, and it is only on rare occasions that the government will interfere in disputes. The relative freedom of labor difficulties is traceable not to an iron rule on the part of the government but to an intelligent effort on the part of both management and labor to solve their problems on a coöperative basis.

#### Boom Times

# H. PARKER WILLIS IN Commercial and Financial Chronicle

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PRICES are now steadily forging further upward. The movement of grains, and particularly of wheat, has long since been a factor of wide-spread comment. Copper, which, during the depression, had been forced so far downward, and which was so slow in recovering its "natural" level, is now 13c., with every reason to believe that it will go materially higher. Various highly specialized or rare materials have already attained especially high levels. Specula-tion in commodities is active, both in American markets and abroad, and is employing a good deal of bank credit in supporting itself. This state of affairs is significant and suggestive as an indicator of broad business conditions for the early future.

Some of the more hasty forecasters have been disposed to make bald general prediction of a "boom," as one of the chief economic features of the pres-

eral prediction of a "boom," as one of the chief economic features of the present year, and to foresee all of the usual "repercussions" exerted by such booms upon the banking situation and the general financial status of the Nation. Hence, a wide-spread call for what is termed "credit control," and a widely-advertised warning to the business and banking community that business activity

is likely to get "out of hand."

It is to be regretted that there should be any disposition to attempt an indis-criminate "credit control," equally di-rected to those who are making a moderate use of banking funds as well as to those who are disposed to be prodigal in their taking of risks, and in their reliance upon a future which shall favor their undertakings. In this, the thing to be feared is not "rise of prices" or "expansion," but is the irregular enlargement of the price base, the creation of an economic disequilibrium.

Above all else, it is essential that our politicians should cease trying to treat symptoms, and in what they do, to devote themselves to underlying conditions. Thus, for example, it is of little use to devise means for the control of credit through the raising of reserve ratios, the sterilization of gold and other highly conventionalized techniques. What is called for is the complete sanitation of credit and elimination of all artificial factors tending to place us upon an uncertain footing,

#### Stabilization Fund NORMAN CRUMP IN Banking

AN exchange stabilization fund must be able to act both as buyer and seller, that is, it must be provided both with gold and with the home currency (e.g., sterling for England and dollars for the United States).

The American exchange fund was originally stocked only with gold, arising from the revaluation of the nation's monetary gold stocks in early 1934. It was never able to acquire a stock of dollars, because ever since 1934 funds have been flowing into the United States, so that the fund was continually asked to buy gold and never asked to buy dollars. It had the fatal defect of being able to operate only one way, and the undesired way, at that. The result was that as it took up gold, it had to pass it on to the Reserve banks (in the form of gold certificates), for the Re-serve banks alone had dollars with which to pay for the gold. Hence, the gold got through to the American internal banking system, where it was responsible for the swollen member bank excess reserves, and from the psychological aspect, for the misgivings about foreign hot money.

The only possible assumption is that the recent changes are designed to pro-

vide the American stabilization fund vember. In accordance with the policy with an adequate supply of dollars, so that it can operate freely in both direc-tions. A new issue of Treasury bills might be made direct to the fund. Then, in future as the fund buys gold it will sell its bills to the banking system, receiving in return dollars with which to pay for its gold. This is tantamount to giving the fund power to borrow at short term from the banking system whenever it wishes to buy gold.

By adjusting the stabilization fund's sales of bills (a) to the member banks and (b) to the Reserve banks, a very delicate control over excess reserves could be exercised whenever foreign funds and gold came in. So far from foreign hot money raising a new problem, it could be used as a delicate con-trol lever over the internal banking position.

#### Excess Reserves FROM Federal Reserve Monthly NEW YORK

ON January 31 the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System announced an increase of 33-1/3 per cent in the reserve requirements of member banks. The Board's statement called attention to the fact that the power to change reserve requirements was to be used, in the language of the law, "in order to prevent injurious credit ex-pansion or contraction", and stated that the excess reserves eliminated by the Board's action "are superfluous for the present or prospective needs of commerce, industry, and agriculture and in the Board's judgment, would result in an injurious credit expansion if permitted to become the basis of a multiple expansion of bank credit.'

If the announced increase in reserve requirements were to become effective immediately, member banks would still have a total of at least \$600,000,000 of excess reserves, a larger amount than at any time in recent years prior to 1933.

The January increase in excess reserves for the country as a whole fell somewhat short of expectations and aggregate excess reserves on January 27 were slightly below the levels reached in November for two reasons. In the first place, the return flow of currency to the Reserve Banks during the fourweek period was somewhat less than the estimated seasonal movement, notwithstanding a larger than usual outflow of currency last autumn.

A second factor was the maintenance of Government balances in the Reserve Banks at a level somewhat higher than prevailed for a number of weeks preceding the December tax period. On anuary 27 Government balances in the Reserve Banks were approximately \$180,000,000, as compared with about \$50,000,000 in the first half of No-

announced by the Secretary of the Treasury on December 21, the Treasury has held inactive the gold that has been added to the monetary gold stock of the United States during the past month, and withdrawals of funds from commercial banks have been made in amounts sufficient to cover payments for imported and domestic gold pur-chased by the Treasury, and also sufficient to cover a considerable part of current Government expenditures.

#### Japan's Economics FROM National City Bank Letter

THE economic situation in Japan has become a subject of general discussion, due to important developments.

The first was the establishment of more stringent exchange regulations governing payment for imports, to give the yen the support temporarily needed.

The second was the introduction of the 1937-38 budget, carrying a deficit in the general account, despite increased taxation, of 800,000,000 yen to be covered by new loans. This led to a political crisis and the resignation of the Hirota Cabinet on January 23.

These developments are of special interest in the United States, in view of the important position which Japan occupies in our foreign trade. In recent years the Island Empire has been our third best customer as well as the third largest source of our imports.

The nature of the regulations implies that they will not drastically restrict trade. As between the alternatives of exchange control and an unstable and depreciating yen it is certain that the former is less disturbing to orderly

The exchange control is declared to be temporary, expiring at the end of July, and a wide latitude is evidently to be permitted in its administration. In principle a permit will be required from the Ministry of Finance for any individual foreign exchange transaction exceeding 10,000 yen, or in case of letters of credit for more than 30,000 yen a month.

It has been known for some time that the payments Japan is called upon to make on international accounts were running close on the heels of the payments received by her, despite the unprecedented expansion in exports. The trade balance last year was the most unfavorable since 1929, and capital investments in Manchukuo have also absorbed foreign exchange.

One source of the present difficulties may be found in the state of the Government finances. New and heavier taxes will be imposed during the coming fiscal year, but even so ordinary revenues will cover only about twothirds of total expenditures, which have

more than doubled since 1931. The deficit will be met from internal borrowing which will again raise the national debt, now over 10 billion yen. The mounting Government debt naturally tends to excite inflationary fears, which according to the experience of other countries usually leads to speculative buying of commodities and the export of capital.

#### Recovery Spurts

FROM Bank of Nova Scotia Monthly
Review

DURING the past four years recovery has not been expressed in a steady upward movement. It has come rather in spurts, followed by indecisive and con-

flicting changes.

The recovery has consisted of four distinct and comparatively brief phases of expansion interspersed with longer periods of approximate stability. The first and greatest advance was the sharp upturn from the depths of depression in the late Spring and early summer of 1933. This was followed by a pause, lasting until the closing months of the year. The second expansion took place during the subsequent Winter and had lost its momentum by the early Spring of 1934. During the remainder of that year and during the first half of the next, there was no decisive change in the state of business. Over these fifteen months, gains in some activities were mainly offset by losses in others.

The next general advance occurred in the Summer and early Fall of 1935. Business conditions were lifted to a higher plateau where they were maintained until the middle of the past year. The first half of 1936, like most of 1934, and part of 1935, was characterized by conflicting changes which, when balanced one against another, convey the impression of stability. The fourth expansion began in June of last year. The upward movement was most pronounced in August and September, and by November, the latest month for which complete date are available, showed definite evidence of slackening.

The uneven course of recovery, like the general recovery itself, is largely a reflection of events abroad. Revival in the United States has been characterized by abrupt expansions followed, not by periods of stability, but by notable recessions. The tenor of recovery in Great Britain has been steadier, but in this case, too, there have been pauses in the upward movement. The month to month pattern of Canadian business has generally shown the combined reflections of conditions in these two nations. Each spurt in Canada has paralleled upturns in the United States and in Great Britain and each pause has been associated with a pause or a recession in one or both of these countries.

## From the Trade

GAS ALERT

The National Underwriter finds in the recent floods a new conflagration hazard, heretofore unthought of, except

in relation to harbors:

"The recent floods, and especially the experience at Cincinnati, shows that gasoline tanks under pressure of water are rather easily lifted. The flood got far beyond normal stages, and reached areas where these tanks were anchored. Cincinnati for many days could have been swept by a mighty conflagration because of the impairment of the fire fighting defense. Gasoline was floating around in all directions and once it caught fire, it might have been a most serious menace. Louisville and undoubtedly other flooded cities had a similar experience.

"This hazard is one that will deserve the profoundest study of fire protection engineers. There are many problems involved. The situation is one that calls

for immediate attention."

#### PATENT OFFICE

In answer to general criticism of our patent system, *Chemical Industries* of-

fers the following suggestion:
"It is recognized, here and abroad, that our patent system has greatly fostered the growth and variety of our industries. The faults we criticize with any justice may be faults of its administration, or own hasty carelessness, or our attempts to misuse it—not of the system

itself.

"All critics agree upon one outstanding trouble of our patent system. We might well concentrate attention and effort on correcting that and then observe results, rather than scattering attention over a multitude of theoretically possible "reforms". This trouble lies in the shifting personnel and the consequent lack of experience, intelligent judgment, and constructive policy in the Patent Office itself. The fault is ours. We pay all examiners far too little for the importance of the work; too little to make work in the patent office a really worthwhile career."

#### FORGOTTEN FURNITURE

Lionel J. Kahn, writing in Furniture World, urges furniture dealers to look for competition where it really exists:

"There are many homes that contain a \$300 electric refrigerator in the kitchen and a \$98 suite in the living room. There are thousands of garages that contain \$700 and \$800 cars, while their owners are content to own \$79 bedroom suites. Why does this condition exist? Because the electric refrigeration indus-

try and the automotive industry intelligently create a demand for their products, and know how to care for that demand properly."

#### SALVAGE

From the American City comes an item indicative of an important industrial trend—the growth of the salvage

"Burned tin cans are raked out and hauled to the inland side of the waste dump, from which they are later taken and baled in a specially built press, driven by a belt from a 20-hp U.S. motor, and with a capacity of about five tons in eight hours. Though loosely compressed, the cans cling together and require no ties. They are sold to copper mining companies, for use at their leaching plants, to recover copper suspended in water. The cans must be burned to remove the tin from the iron, and loosely pressed so that there will be more surface exposed to action of the copper-bearing water. This method of recovering copper is said to be a valuable aid to American copper companies in competing with cheap foreign copper.

#### EASY TERMS

In a recent issue of *The Wall Street Journal*, there was again opened the question of the merits of instalment buying, to which was added some further information, bringing the history of this much questioned institution up to date.

"Not so many years ago—it was in the memorable 1920s—installment selling was regarded in many quarters as a threat to continued prosperity. And when the depression finally came, the prophets of gloom were rewarded with the satisfaction of being right; at least, there was every evidence that the advance mortgaging of buying power had taken something away from the ability of the pub-

lic to absorb goods.

"Now, in spite of the fact that we are so recently out of the depression that questions of what will eventually destroy our new-found recovery have a certain academic flavor, installment selling again is called a problem. This is the more true since it has penetrated fields unknown to it before the collapse of business; not only are goods of a short life expectancy sold but even intangibles, such as "cruises", are sold on the partial payment plan. The National Retail Dry Goods Association, through its controllers' congress, recently estimated that the gain in installment selling in 1936 was 33% over the year previous, while that year registered a gain of 35% over 1934."

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# From the Editor's Mail

#### PRACTICAL SCHOOLING

To the Editor:

The work described by Richardson Wood in "Teaching the Retail Art" is of great interest to me not only because of its implications with respect to retailing, but because of the importance of the vocational education designed for adequately preparing students for com-

mercial life.

For a long time, insofar as high school training was concerned, retailing, though it employs millions of persons in the United States, was never given adequate consideration as a vocational study. Retailing was the sort of occupation into which one drifted when other avenues of work were closed. As a result, retail establishments were forced, in order to obtain employees who could satisfy customers with an adequate understanding of merchandise and selling, to operate schools of their own, and even stores found it necessary to use a hit or miss system by which a salesbook was placed in the hands of a pretty girl. She was told to go out and sell. She did. And often as not she sold the wrong way at first and it took her months to learn the correct way and unlearn the incorrect one.

Certainly the intelligent methods employed by the Central School of Business and Arts and the extension of these training methods to other schools throughout the nation will tend to improve the standards of retailing. But more important, for the students it will increase the prospects of rapid advancement in business and the chance to earn

ment in pussions an adequate living.

N. M. OHRBACH, President, Ohrbach's, New York

#### THE LOYALISTS

To the Editor:

I am a "Conservative"; a traditional Presbyterian; a rock-ribbed Republican and more so than ever in the subtle and specious perversions of our liberties; and a life-long Dry—not as Party but as principle, enhanced by contacts, educational, journalistically and inter-and-post War, with thousands of young men; and confirmed by the appalling moral and mental weakenings of the modern female of this cigarette and cocktail-soaked age.

Therefore, I am not a Communist.

But I have been and I am for the Loyalists of Spain. This time demands loyalty to Legality; observance of international treaty obligations. And in a choice between present conditions in Spain I am for the lesser danger of a controlled

Leftism there-and one which that Nation will never make a pawn of outside dominance—than for a military Fascism or its like, which, steered by foreign plans, will inevitably involve the whole world in a struggle for salvation of its painfully purchased liberties.

A. GUYOT CAMERON, Princeton, New Jersey

#### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

To the Editor:

The question which Mr. Pound discusses in his article, "Should the U. S. Be Redrawn?", is a very timely topic. Mr. Pound is right with his idea of reforming the structure of the federal government, that is to decentralize it, but is he right when he wishes to reduce the federal government to a mere figure? And are the cabinet members superfluous? Is it ridiculous that the chief-of-state of a republic should be advised by his own appointees and yesmen? Since the President represents a policy to be carried out, how else could he do it than by appointing men who would cooperate with him?

A government organized as Mr. Pound suggests would fall to pieces immediately. This issue was discussed from all angles at the constitutional convention, where the most intelligent men of all parties saw that if it was worth having a federal government, that government must have power, if it should

have meaning.

As it seems to me, the real issue behind all modern movements, constitutions or dictatorships is the question of freedom. Consequently the real issue here in our own country is not the dismemberment of the government, but the need for constituting it so that its function is advisory rather than com-pulsary, mediatorial but not partizan. The premise for that kind of a government, however, is the willingness of all parties to adhere to principle, and to subject themselves voluntarily to the decision of the government if that decision should be invoked. And we are a long way from having achieved that happy state.

F. WERTGEN, Parkdale, Oregon

#### STUDENT SENTIMENTS

To the Editor:

It is very unfortunate that press re-ports about the dismissal of Pres. Glenn Frank have carried so many misconceptions of our university to the nation.

Foremost among these misconceptions -and the one which an editorial in the February issue of Review of Reviews

supports-is the idea that President Frank was dismissed through political intrigue, that he has become a victim of breach of academic freedom.

It should be known that certain sections of the press and anti-liberal forces exploited the Frank situation as an instrument against not only Phil La Follette but also against all progressivism in our State. They gave our University a black eye in order to discredit La Follette. It should also be known that the press made the pro-Frank support seem mountains greater than it actually was. There were not 2000 students on strike. There were never more than 400 -if that many.

UNDERGRADUATE, University of Wisconsin

#### LABOR ISSUES

To the Editor:

Because of my deep and sincere interest in the current struggle between labor and capital, I read avidly the views of the seven men set forth on this subject in the February issue of the Review of Reviews. I found that most of them maintained a righteous view of the conditions existing but was very much disappointed in the anti-social viewpoint set forth by Arnold Petersen, National Secretary of the Socialist-Labor Party.

In the first place, Mr. Petersen ques-tions the ability of capitalistic institutions to cope with the problems of modern industry. For many years past, labor and capital have had differences of opinion involving wages and working conditions, but, in spite of many bitter struggles, agreements have been reached and the progress of the American working-man has been extended until today his standard of living is the highest in the world. While it must be granted that there are too many unemployed due to the inability or unwillingness of industry to absorb them, their number in relation to the total population is smaller than in other countries of the world. Time and sober thought will solve this problem.

If "the workers alone can solve the problem" by assuming "complete ownership and permanent possession of in-dustry", as Mr. Petersen seems to think, some of these workers must be selected for the executive direction of the industry. Would he have the world believe that these executives should be paid the same amount as the workers, in spite of the fact that there is only one in many thousands of workers who is capable of the direction of industry?

Any executive must consider not only the rights of the workers to a living

wage but also the rights of the persons who furnished the means by which they can earn wages. It must be remembered that vast numbers of the workers themselves, especially in recent years, have invested their hard earned money in the securities of the companies in which they work. Others have bank accounts and life insurance policies on which they expect a return. Would the social-ized ownership of industry do any wage earner more good than harm?

Lest there be any one who thinks that this is written by a representative of capital, let me state that I am the representative of my fellow workers in dealings with our management representatives in an incorporated union, and must stand on my actions before all.

WILLIAM F. PILLING, West Haven, Conn.

#### CELESTIAL AID

To the Editor:

It seems, after all, that our Uncle Samuel has a few friends abroad. Of course those friends are in faraway China. Finance Minister H. H. Kung is raising funds all over the Celestial Republic to aid the Mississippi flood-victims, with the support of Dictator Chiang Kai-shek and other ministerial wellwishers.

China knows what floods, disease, and famine can do to a people, and is appreciative of American backing in the past at times of Chinese national emergencies. As this is written, no important gestures have come to my attention from Europe, in re the American Middle West; but, after all, it is to be expected. We have helped Chinamen continually. We have always neglected France and England and Italy, and the small fry of the Continent. Of course we did lend them some money once, fed a few million of them, and won a small war for them two decades ago at the cost of billions of dollars and 125,000 casualties.

This, however, was quite insignificant, as any educated European can tell you; for Americans are by nature a race of soulless shopkeepers, parasites, and profiteers who try to gouge their debtors as they prate of humanity. Evidently the humble Chinese are not so well-informed, the dull fellows. Those poor idiots actually like us-they are even capable of old-fashioned, bourgeoissentimental, prediluvian gratitude. How crass of them!

WILBER FRANK. Chicago, Illinois

#### SPAIN AND CHURCH

To the Editor:

Nothing is farther from the truth than that Catholic conservatives or any other conservatives are on the side of the government. Every conservative element in the Spanish people is on the side of the rebels.

You are correct in your statement that anarchists and anti-fascists are on the government's side, and so are the syndicalists and particularly the communists, which the American people rightly dread so much. Every social and political group opposed to the fundamental bases of modern society, including religious liberty and protection of life and property, is supporting the present com-munist government of Spain. I say 'communist" government because it is now a recognized fact that the present leaders of the government are not those elected by the people but usurpers who have been inflamed by Russian propaganda against everything which stands for mutual respect and protection.

On the rebel side are Spanish fascists people who have chosen to call themselves fascists-but who are in reality people desirous of peace and of the protection which democratic governments afford to life and property. They are more than anything else anti-communists. These people are aiding the re-bellious army to extirpate communism from the face of the earth and as your illustrious President Wilson said, fighting to "make the world safe for democracy".

RAMON SIÑERIZ, San Juan, P. R.

(Editor's note: Basque Catholics, however, have been vigorously supporting the Spanish loyalist government in the civil war.)

#### CHOICE OF TERMS

To the Editor:

To the great majority, which constitutes the Great Stupidity, "Loyalist" sounds good, loyalty is supposed to be a virtue. But it has been misapplied to the supposedly republican or demo-cratic part of the Spanish nation, whereas the present government at Madrid and Barcelona is in the hands of bloodthirsty Bolsheviks, who are confiscating all private and church property and who ruthlessly butcher all those opposed to

The French revolution was called "The Reign of Terror". This Spanish nightmare might be called "The Reign Horror". To the average citizen "rebel" has a treasonable, revolutionary sound. Just as misleading is the term "fascists" applied to the troops fighting for law and order. It implies sympathy with Hitler and Mussolini, who are not popular in America.

The forces opposing the present government of Spain no doubt contain many fascists, but I doubt if the majority desires to set up a fascist regime as a permanent institution. The rebels are composed of fascists, royalists, industrialists and the great middle class which has ever been the bulwark of sound governments and is therefore anathema to communists and anarchists under the title of bourgoisie.

Another misleading factor is the "Loyalist" news items of the bombing of women and children by the "Rebels' That of course is a terrible thing. But if France and England were at war the same thing would happen to Paris and to London. It is absolutely unavoidable under modern conditions in times of

> CHARLES VEZIN, Coral Gables, Florida

#### LADY OF THE HOUSE

To the Editor:

After having been elected to the 73rd, 74th and 75th Congresses, I have come to the conclusion that the public would be better served if the terms were lengthened to six years the same as the Senate. If this were done, it would permit Members of the House of Representatives to devote more time to legislative suggestions, and less time to developing ways and means for a successful campaign.
VIRGINIA E. JENCKES,

Representative from Indiana

#### SENATE OPINION

To the Editor:

I have read your article on Congress with much interest. I question whether there will be an advantage in having the terms of the Members of the House of Representatives extended to six years. Very probably one of our most useful safety valves is the knowledge that the people can upset the House of Representatives every two years and it is of the essence of representative government that people shall have the right to make quick changes whenever they deem it advisable.

The present system has operated excellently for one hundred and fifty years. I think there are pending in the Congress some thirty or forty proposed amendments to the Constitution. It may be that our American experiment will fail, but I would rather it would fail in its present terms than to return to the European conception of government against which we revolted.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, Senator from North Carolina

#### LONGER TERMS

To the Editor:

I have read with much interest the article in the January Review of Reviews devoted to Congress, and especially your suggestion that the terms of members of the House of Representatives be increased to six years. I certainly agree with your view that the two-year term is not practicable, but I am inclined to wonder if a proposal to increase the term to four years would not be more feasible and win stronger support. I shall await with interest the general reaction you receive to the plan.

MARTIN F. SMITH, Representative from Washington

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